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CA121

-63 B500

WORKING PAPER

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TITLE: Kapuskasing and district  
community.

N.B. This is not a final report but a  
working paper. It is part of the  
study by S. D. Clark on "The  
position of the French-speaking  
population in the northern  
industrial community".

DIV: V-A

Report No. 10





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KAPUSKASING AND DISTRICT COMMUNITY STUDY

Prepared by R. Carlton





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## THE DEVELOPMENT OF KAPUSKASING

### Settlement and The Pulp and Paper Industry

~~If Rouyn-Noranda represented the convergence in one locality of the two frontiers of mining and colonization, Kapuskasing represented the convergence in one locality of the two frontiers of pulp and paper and colonization.~~ d

In the beginning, the paper towns of Ontario's north spread out like so many small reservoirs of settlement in the narrow rivers of population flowing north and westward. With the railways came new access to land and to forest resources: marginal farms attracted land hungry immigrants from Quebec, while southern capital quickly found the rich Spruce pulpwood. The two elements made a fortuitous and relatively stable adjustment: marginal farming depended upon seasonal employment of the relatively unskilled, while the mill relied no less upon availability of hardened bush workers. At a later date, highways paralleled the rails to link rural roads, built upon still earlier trails, now fenced with the frame houses of French farmers, crowding in upon the 'English' mill towns or opening out as the relationship to the mill became economically and spatially more distant.

Kapuskasing, or "MacPherson," as the town was first known, was originally nothing more than a temporary construc-





tion camp-site carved out of the forest when the National Transcontinental pushed across the "Kapuskasing" river in 1909. An elderly resident of Kapuskasing whose father had first come to Kapuskasing with the railway described the town in its first years of existence:

For four years 1910-14 Macpherson was a water stop for the steam locomotives that pulled the grain and passenger trains that traversed the bush country. Cochrane and Hearst became outposts of civilization, with struggling pioneer farms. Even Moonbeam was a farm community. MacPherson's water tank drew water from the river just opposite the new houses (now) built in the town park. There was a section gang composed of Italians and a pump-house operator. The entire community would gather on the 2" x 4" station platform to meet the train that brought the mail and to enjoy a social hour.

The isolated and rather tenuous existence of this railway settlement gave little promise of the "model community" which was to follow. Indeed, as W. Kirkconnell was to report later: "In the autumn of 1914 this section of the railway was still in the hands of the contractors .... and the only local signs of man were the empty station house, known until 1917 as MacPherson, the unused track and siding, and four roofless shacks of a deserted construction camp on the river bank."(1)

In 1914, establishment of an experimental farm, in conjunction with a detention camp for interned aliens, set the MacPherson community upon an entirely new economic base. A provincial grant of some 1280 acres was made at this time to the Federal Department of Agriculture, for



the establishment of an experimental farm to explore the potential of the newly opened Clay Belt. By 1916, in addition to some fifteen hundred Slav, Turk, Polish and Austrian prisoners, together with the military, the camp had drawn to Kapuskasing a small core of civilian retainers, settlers and farm employees whose influence upon the development of the community was to prove far deeper and more prolonged than that of the transient soldiers or detainees. While the prisoners were proceeding grudgingly with the clearing of land and the erection of crude bunk houses along the south side of the railway line, a small civilian settlement began to emerge on the north side, between the camp and the river. This served to some extent the needs of the few surrounding farms, as well as those of the camp.

These earliest settlers, like the railway workers, were Anglo-Saxons, many of Scottish origin, with little education and little incentive to move beyond the periphery of the dominant English governmental institutions - railway, military, postal and agricultural -- where they were now clustered. While the French settlers continued to move into the areas west of Cochrane, there was a tendency to congregate about small farming centres which were already totally French speaking. MacPherson remained a lone English community. Cochrane had been established as a Roman Catholic parish in 1909: by 1917, parishes had been lo-





cated at Smooth Rock Falls, Fauquier, Moonbeam and Hearst, and the whole area was united administratively, under Quebec clergy, as a Prefecture Apostolic in 1918. Kapuskasing, however, remained a mission, with mass being heard in the general store. This would suggest the comparative sparseness of local French speaking settlers, although accurate data for these early years is unavailable.

The ecological blueprint which was to be heavily retraced in the later development of the community had already been laid down; the French were by and large located outside the town proper, upon which they were dependent for supplies, communications and markets: the English speaking population were town residents, representative of and dependent upon work institutions centred outside the community, in the South. The failure of the Anglo-Saxon settler in agriculture was apparent in the abortive land settlement scheme for returning veterans, inaugurated in 1917. Despite liberal allowances of land, equipment, labour and training, these settlers, the majority from urban centres in Southern Ontario or the United Kingdom, were unable to cope with those hazards of frost, fire, and unsuitable crops, the latter already being demonstrated in the dismal returns of the experimental farm. Lack of agricultural background on the part of many of these colonists must also have been an adverse factor. Of the one hundred and one veterans set-





tled at the estimated cost of one million dollars, only nine settlers elected to remain when the colony was formally wound up in 1920.

The choice of MacPherson, renamed Kapuskasing in 1918, as a centre for the establishment of English-speaking settlers had, of course, further set this community apart from the surrounding French agricultural villages; but French-speaking owners of stores and small business were present almost from the beginning. Aspiring colonists were housed initially in the growing village, which by 1919 boasted twenty-four houses, a post-office, general store, blacksmith shop, drug store, pool room, a Jewish owned dry goods store, hotel, grocery and sawmill (the owners of the latter three being French-speaking: Daoust, de Groseiller and LaFlamme). An English language school, employing two teachers, was established, with van service for the rural children; both French and English youngsters were initially in attendance. According to the testimony of surviving pioneers, English was, from the beginning, the accepted language of commerce in the Kapuskasing community. Where communications, commerce and educational facilities were shared by the two main ethnic groups in this period, the overriding importance of religious differences was early apparent. Every second week, a Protestant clergyman from Cochrane would arrive to hold services at the "Union Church," housed in the camp guard



room or community hall.

It may be true that the pressure of pioneer circumstances, isolation, the small size in absolute numbers of both groups and the similarity of background in terms of social class made for greater intimacy and cohesion between French and English during this period, as some informants have suggested in retrospect. It seems more probable, however, that the absence of competing institutions, and the unchallenged numerical strength of the English within the town itself kept the early Anglo-Saxon settlers largely unaware of the interests or attitudes of their French neighbours.

#### 1920-1927 - French and English: In and Out of the Bush

The year 1920 very nearly saw the demise of the settlement at Kapuskasing. Not only was the veteran's colony evacuated, but the internment camp, which had housed prisoners of war after 1917, was closed, sold and wrecked following the repatriation of all prisoners. Those few families now remaining were a residue of all that had gone before - some railway workers, former camp retainers like the baker, turned postmaster, five former camp guards, together with the several remaining veterans, now established on their marginal farms. There is little doubt but that the probable evacuation of this group would have left the entire area to land seekers from Cobalt and Quebec, had it not





been for the arrival of the pulp industry. "The community lived in hopes that the pulp companies would build a mill that would provide work and encourage others to move in," commented one early settler.

With the acquisition of a cutting limit from the Provincial Government, and with American capital, the Spruce Falls Company was formed in 1920, and construction began the same year on a generating station and sulphite mill. The arrival of industry did indeed "provide work" and the new assignment of economic roles profoundly altered the position of both French and English settlers. In addition to an influx of construction workers, a new English-speaking element was introduced to the community with the arrival of engineers and managers. Referred to by older residents as the "four hundred," this new group were immediately set apart from all earlier settlers by income and education, and by the transient character of their involvement in the community. For the settlers, employment with the mill made it possible to remain in Kapuskasing; for the senior mill officials, a stay in Kapuskasing made it possible to further a career with Spruce Falls, or within a specialized professional field. Most often, this amounted to the same thing, but certain differences in outlook and interests may be better understood by keeping this distinction in mind.

The economic power possessed by this new elite served to raise the status of the early English settlers not only



indirectly, but directly as well, by conferring upon them the earliest opportunities for employment in the new mill. Once granted seniority many of these first English-speaking workers were able to rise quickly upon the swelling body of French and immigrant labour, to positions of virtual tenure in the lower levels of management. The stereotype of English-speaking foreman and French worker became fixed early in the eyes of the Kapuskasing settlers, and had indeed some basis in fact, altered only more recently with the retirement of many of these early employees.

New organizations and activities were gradually introduced, under the leadership of the managerial elite, to transform the life style of the pioneer community. With the advent of the mill, a new townsite had been cleared on the east bank, opposite the old village of MacPherson, and north of the row of homes which had been constructed as temporary accommodation for the returning veterans. Older houses were moved on to the planned site and new buildings were constructed, by the mill, including a community club, athletic and recreational facilities. Amenities, such as the wooden sidewalks or hydro electric service provided for the townsite, emphasized the new standards of wealth and comfort for town dwellers. Kapuskasing was still isolated and small (a compact static population of 1500); a community in which local sporting and social events remained important occasions for demonstration of community





spirit and solidarity.

In 1921, the town had been incorporated. Not surprisingly, the first council was composed entirely of English-speaking mill employees, several of whom, including the mayor, were former settlers.

Although it was basically an English community which was taking shape here under the direction of the mill, the years to 1927 also saw a substantial increase in the French-speaking element, and the local development of French institutions. French labour for both bush and mill was recruited from the surrounding farms, from the Haileybury-Cobalt area, and from northern Quebec. With an increase in the numbers of French persons at Kapuskasing, a Roman Catholic parish (Immaculee Conception) was established in 1922. The separate elementary school was inaugurated by the parish only three years later, in 1925.

Following the initial "boom" of construction, this appears to have been a period of relatively slow growth. It was an era to some extent of frontier lawlessness, where saloons and bawdy houses flourished to meet the needs of young isolated construction and mill workers, either single or separated from families, who were housed in the large frame hotels and bunk houses which today stand empty.(2) It was an era of floods, fires and epidemics, any one of which might have destroyed the town had it not been for



the resources of outside capital, spent freely in full awareness of the rich promise of the pulp. Most important, however, the advantaged position of the English population, established in the preceding decade, was reinforced by the diverse patterns of recruitment to labour and management, by the ecological distinction of bush and mill, of "town" and planned townsite, by continued numerical superiority, and by early control of municipal government. If the surrounding agricultural communities were to some extent recreations of parent communities in Quebec, so central Kapuskasing became socially, politically and even spatially - although not economically - a rough re-production of southern English-speaking communities. What is at once apparent is that the attempt to establish an English Kapuskasing was, from the start, out of harmony so to speak with the character of the surrounding area and with the labour requirements of its basic industry. Kapuskasing became one more island in the flow of French settlements across Ontario's North. The history of this community, then, must be written as an account, not only of the extent to which this economically powerfully seat continued as a centre of domination and influence from the South, but as an account of the way in which the advantaged English position was progressively eroded, undermined and challenged through the mobility of the French population and through the changes in communication which brought Kapuskasing more and more





into daily contact and interdependence with rural French settlement.

Paradoxically, where the French were drawn more into the English industrial sphere, the English themselves were progressively submerged in the growth of a consciously French-Canadian community.

#### 1927-1946 - Paper Money and the New Elite

If 1920 had indeed proved a pivotal year in the history of Kapuskasing, the expansion of communications and industry which began in 1927 must be seen as issuing on to a second major plateau, or stage of growth. The chief stimulus was the decision, reached in 1926, to augment the successful sulphite pulp operation with a newsprint mill. Spruce Falls Power & Paper Company was formed with capital from the New York Times and Kimberly-Clark Corporation; construction of the new mill began in 1927. The first shipments of newsprint, the next year, ushered in an era of unprecedented prosperity; virtual doubling of the population was accompanied by a major construction boom, and the momentum of these steps, together with the comparatively stable market for newsprint, carried the town through depression years almost unscathed. "Truly," one informant remarked, "The only reason that we knew there was a depression was because of the number of people who wanted to come and live here."



Once again, industrial expansion strengthened the hand of the English speaking population. The incoming managerial group was prepared to exercise even more obvious and widespread control over the growth and affairs of the community, and to develop recreational, educational and service institutions with somewhat of an exclusive regard for their own interests and traditions.

Almost immediately (1927), the mill manager became mayor, an office which he was to hold continuously for twenty years (until 1946). Council meetings were held in English, and there remains little doubt that municipal politics, throughout this period, were entirely dominated by the influence of the mill executives. At this time, too, the close interrelation between the executive elite of the mill, the lodges and the United Church became evident. The early settlers, many of whom had been Scottish and Presbyterian, and whose seniority afforded a prestige in the community out of proportion to their positions in lower management or skilled labour, virtually all became active United Church workers. A combination of this membership with the less active but more prestigious allegiance of the bulk of all incoming mill engineering and executive personnel placed this church in a position of unrivalled power.

The Anglican Church, developing later, without comparably strong support of either pioneers or mill executives,





was forced more along missionary lines and ended in a weaker position than the United; congregations of Baptists, Presbyterians and Jehovah's Witnesses, organized much later, never seriously rivalled either of these. Roman Catholicism was identified primarily with the French-speaking group, and secondarily with the much smaller group of European immigrants, primarily Polish and Italian.

Many of the most powerful members of the English-speaking community were also connected with the lodges, which exercised a maximum influence during this period. The lodge members, who were "anxious to keep anything French or Catholic out of the schools," appear to have aimed at considerable control over the public school system, which was to some extent obtained by heavy representation on boards, and by subsequent discrimination in the selection of staff at both elementary and high school levels. The influence of the lodges was felt, as well, in the mill, where the opportunities for advancement were reportedly greater for lodge members, and in politics. The town clerk appointed in 1927, and remaining in that office for some thirty-five years, was a prominent lodge member who was alleged by one French informant to have "run the town" in the thirties.

In providing the amenities necessary to attract and hold senior personnel, the mill altered the life style of the whole English speaking community, and further widened



the gap between the two major language groups. Within the space of two years, a new hotel, club, hospital, school and church were erected. Indicatively, a strikingly similar and impressive brick style of construction was adopted for each of the new edifices. The hotel immediately became both a residence for many single workers, or teachers, and a stopover for visiting executives, but there is no suggestion that "the Inn" was ever greatly used by the French community. Even today, the French speaking group tend to patronize a smaller rival hotel, French owned, where clubs such as the Richelieu meet. Like the Inn, the Club and the Hospital were intended, originally, to meet the needs of one group only. Indifference of the hospital to the rural population, and in effect to the majority of the French who were not directly employed within the mill may be gauged from this account of an English settler: "Doctors were only there because the Spruce Falls hired them and they were not likely to travel miles into the bush to minister to patients. The Spruce Falls hospital as recently as 1928 refused to admit a pregnant woman." It was not until 1961 that the Sensenbrenner hospital was turned over to the community, and enlarged with funds raised through public subscription. Although some French speaking doctors are on staff, and the hospital facilities are accessible to all residents, there remains the angry allegation that French speaking patients have been instructed by hospital staff





not to use their native language. Indeed, this became the subject of a bitter debate in the local press during 1965.(3)

While the Inn and Hospital, and perhaps more so, the Community Club, were at least theoretically to be identified with the interests of the French speaking group, this was clearly not the case with church and school. The Diamond Jubilee Public School, under the principalship of a most outspoken opponent of the separate school system, and the United Church, operating under the shadow of the lodges, were symbolic of the conflict of values and traditions. Although they had existed throughout the early days in the community, support and enlargement at this time and from these quarters, served to accentuate the self-sufficiency of the English language group. In sum, the institutional build up which began in 1927, under mill support, direct or indirect, tended to emphasize the differences and exclusiveness of English-speaking association, while offering only marginal advantage to the French community.

The attitude of the English community during this decade is suggested in the comments of an English-speaking high school teacher who took up residence in 1933: "I never thought of Kapuskasing as 'French'; I always saw it as an English community with a lot of French people. I could be criticized, I guess. In all my years here I never learned French; I could have but I didn't see my responsibility in this regard. I was an English-speaking teacher and this



was an English School."

The "model town" was emerging. Two approaches were open to French-speaking residents: they might struggle to penetrate, use and modify these institutions; or they might attempt to establish or expand rival institutions, serving their interests exclusively. In certain areas, parallel sets of institutions developed (as in commerce, religion, or in elementary schooling), while in other areas the existing institutions became the scenes of prolonged and sometimes overt struggling. Conscious assimilation provided a third alternative.

Initially, the economic gap between the two groups was wide enough to hold off conflict over any immediate resolution, but as the French-speaking community began to generate a larger middle class of merchants and professionals, the need for and the ability to participate in this level of community activity came to be felt more keenly, as was the exclusiveness of the network of formal organizations developed by the English.

Until 1927, Kapuskasing had been accessible only by rail, but in that year the opening of the Ferguson Highway not only provided a new route to the south, but linked the town with neighbouring centres and with vacation areas. No longer were the townspeople bound to seek their recreation at local sporting events; according to one resident:





"The rich papermakers with their cars were made happier with the town's first highway link with Southern Ontario. The Ferguson Highway opening caused a greater change in the social life of the community than any other single event. In the dozen years to 1927, community events, such as July 1st track meets and Sunday baseball games were centres of attraction for the entire community. After 1927, the town became deserted on week-ends and holidays as the people took to the highways and summer cabins."

This era saw, then, the beginnings of the cottage community at nearby Remi Lake (three miles north of Moonbeam). Separateness and independence of the more affluent English-speaking families was thus further affirmed by removal of residence during the summer months, and by the increased frequency of contact with Southern Ontario, where they vacationed, visited relatives or sent their children for schooling.

From 1927 onward, the French population of the district had been growing in several new ways. Not only did the trickle of settlers from Quebec through the Cobalt mining area continue, but experienced millhands were actively recruited from the Gatineau and Hawkesbury areas. Relatives and friends from the Eastern countries soon followed, to cluster on the outskirts of the town, or along the new highway stretching away from Kapuskasing. In addition to those



drawn by hopes of employment with the mill, there came, as well, farmers from the Lac St. Jean district, seeking cheap land on which to locate their sons in the traditional Quebec pattern. Until the war, regular employment within the mill was limited to a few; the majority of these French speaking arrivals combined some marginal farming with seasonal bushwork to provide a moderate and fairly stable income for their large families. Although no reliable figures are available, the best estimates from several sources agree that by the middle nineteen thirties, the French-speaking group constituted fifty to sixty per cent of the town population, and dominated the nearby rural communities (over ninety per cent) much as they do today. In 1935 the public school held twelve classrooms; the separate school (bilingual) had seventeen rooms in all, suggesting a French population at least as large as the English if we allow for some difference in family size.

During the subsequent war years the "shack towns" of Brunetville and Val Albert were grafted onto the outlines of the model community which had been laid down by the mill. Crowded frame dwellings pressed in along the irregular dirt roads as the settlers who could not resist the economic pull of the mill huddled together in an escape from town taxation.

Quite soon the last of the original townsite was



filled out, in any case, so that entry was no longer possible. Although annexation of these communities was delayed as late as 1963, aerial photos taken twenty years earlier reveal a substantial number of homes already established in both areas. From the beginning, Val Albert and Brunetville were economically, if not politically, bound to the town; residents were mill employees or were attached to one of the service or retail outlets in the town proper. A few local grocery stores and garages developed in the new fringe areas, but it was the French entrepreneurs of Kapuskasing who were to benefit most from the increase in commerce. This long-standing refusal to recognize the contiguity of Kapuskasing with Val Albert and Brunetville, and the postponement of measures which would have controlled development, can only be explained in terms of temporary advantages accruing to the townspeople, both French and English. For the English, maintenance of the closed town relieved the population of both administrative and financial burdens of development, at the same time that it perpetuated the advantaged position of numerical superiority within the municipal political unit. Thus, the English continued to dominate local politics completely for more than two decades after they had been substantially outnumbered within what was, in effect, a single growing community. This is not to imply that other factors, tradition, leader-





ship and economic power, all of which were weighted in favour of English dominance, did not play a more important role; it is simply to affirm the absence of motives for rapid expansion.

French townspeople were in a less transparent position; in addition to the reluctance to incur additional taxation, there was evidently some sense of embarrassment, a feeling that the squalor and alleged immorality of these communities compromised the position of the mobile and 'respectable' church going townspeople. Such an attitude is discernible today in the reaction of the established French to newcomers from Quebec; having worked their way out of the bush they deplore the willingness of the "Quebecois" to fill the jobs they have left behind and to prolong the era of shack-dwelling. "Quebecois" is hardly a term of endearment in Kapuskasing today.

Initially the socio-economic gulf between the host community and its parasites was expressed in terms of disassociation, threatened only by the willingness of the French merchants and hoteliers to profit from the free spending habits of their new neighbours. It was only later that a fattened bourgeoisie came to see the growing population of Val Albert and Brunetville as a basis for increased political power, and to translate differences in social class into a leadership challenge.



The growing strength of the French community was perhaps first apparent in the economic gains of the war years. Movement of rural population into the industrial centres, characteristic throughout Ontario in this period, provided new sources of wealth for the French commercial establishment in Kapuskasing. Where the possibility of competition in the industrial setting had been ruled out from the beginning, entrepreneurship was redirected into commercial ventures which flourished with the expansion of the war years, throwing up a small but powerful elite of wealthy store-owners and established professionals. By way of example, a school teacher, with an annual salary of \$400.00 who began a hardware and home furnishings store which eventually grew into a complex of small businesses, is perhaps the wealthiest man, French or English, in the community today. In 1931 there were some forty-six retail outlets in Kapuskasing; by 1941 the situation was virtually unchanged (forty-four), yet by 1951, there were sixty-two small businesses in the same area.(4 )

At the same time, the acute demand for labour was providing the French worker with access to new areas of employment and new levels of authority within the mill. Accounts of this shift in the position of French labour are coloured by subsequent interpretations expressive of resentment towards the French community, and symptomatic of the bewilderment felt by many of the English-speaking





residents, at the way in which their prestige and power were eroded during this period.

The war completely changed the complexion of this town. Prior to the war the town was predominantly Anglo-Saxon and American; during the war there was a great influx across the Quebec border. The mill was manufacturing some small part in the machine shop, and was declared an essential industry. The mill manager brought in thousands of French Canadians escaping military service, getting them into bomb proof jobs until the war was over.

Such were the comments of an older English-speaking veteran who had returned from the war to find the French assuming a very new role in Kapuskasing. One of the original MacPherson settlers expressed her dismay more calmly: "There were so many French coming in that it made you feel the community was being taken out of our hands, although I really didn't have any bad feeling toward them."

Although the English community believed, and continued to assert, that French "immigrants" rushed out of the Quebec bush and into the industrial centres of the north, while the English turned their backs to face the responsibilities of a world war, there are several good reasons for questioning this interpretation.

First, it is instructive to note that during the years 1931-41 the population of Kapuskasing remained constant while the population of Cochrane district increased by thirty-nine per cent; yet during the following decade the population of Kapuskasing increased by some thirty-seven per cent, while the district figures remained relatively



stable. This change in the rate of growth is largely explicable in terms of a stable single industry operating in Kapuskasing throughout the earlier decade, followed by expansion of the mill in 1944 necessitating successive enlargement of the townsite each year from 1944 to 1949. Nevertheless, it is not unreasonable to assume that much of the population which was new to the town of Kapuskasing proper was not recruited from Quebec, but was drawn from the nearby rural areas, or from the more mobile elements in the shack towns of Brunetville and Val Albert. For the first time, through the scarcity of labour occasioned by the war, the French worker gained access to certain trades, such as paper-making, to the unions, some of which had been developing in Kapuskasing since the late nineteen thirties, and to the ranks of foremen in areas where the English had earlier established virtual tenure. As French opportunists pressed upward into new areas of work within the mill, the ranks at lower levels were filled with recruits from the bush and the farm. Smaller adjacent towns which had been farming centres during the twenties and early thirties, were absorbed by Spruce Falls' new appetite for labour, and by the growing ease of transport, as the French left their farms for the mill. They did not return. As one resident of Moonbeam summed up the move:

During the last war farms were abandoned; more than seventy of our young people, with our doctor and our parish priest,



Father Cimon, enlisted in the armed forces, a large number went to work in the war factories of Southern Ontario and Quebec, and many came to the paper mill here in Kapuskasing. After the war these people did not return to farming. Today the majority of our population work for the Spruce Falls at the mill or in the bush.

Some truck farming continued as did a small local exchange in services and foodstuffs, but the rural population came to be increasingly dependent upon Kapuskasing, for employment and for the "luxury" goods and entertainment for which cash was now available and upon which the Kapuskasing merchants thrived.

A second major point is relevant here: even if the population of Kapuskasing alone were considered, there would be good reason to assume that the French might have increased in proportion to the English throughout the period in question. English professional and administrative mill employees had been recruited from an older group, who were transient in most cases. Many came with families already established, sent their children to the schools in the south, where the latter eventually looked for employment, and in due course retired or transferred out of the north. Such a population was stable through replacement, but was vulnerable to any mobility on the part of the French, and was dependent upon managerial and technical expansion for its absolute growth. Within Spruce Falls, the long range effort to centralize engineering facilities in the United States, and to retain senior management and accounting in Toronto, tended to miti-





gate against enlargement of this group. On the other hand, a larger proportion of the French settlers appear to have been younger labourers, whose permanent commitment to the region, and whose fertility (families of ten to fifteen children are still very common in 1965), made for a sizeable resident second generation in the late thirties and nineteen forties. Of course, there were comparable immigrant and English-speaking elements, but the broad differences between ethnic groups were such as to suggest diverse patterns of growth and replacement.

The community legend of French growth during the war must be interpreted in part simply as an expression of the changed status of the French within the community; to the English there appeared to be more French speaking persons in Kapuskasing after the war simply because they were to be encountered where they had not been seen before, because French language was to be heard where it had been silent or silenced in the past.

It may be taken as an index of the growing power of the French that they not only penetrated unions within the mill, but, by 1944, had succeeded in organizing the largest block of French-speaking labour - the bushworkers - with the formation of local 2995 of the Lumber and Sawmill workers' union. Finally, evidence of a growing awareness of their disadvantaged position and of a conscious effort



to provide leadership for the French community vis a vis the power of the English, and the lodges, may be found in the formation of various 'secret' societies toward the end of the thirties. One French-speaking school teacher, who had come to Kapuskasing in the early thirties, replied in this manner when asked about organizations such as the Jacques Cartier:

If I had taken a vow of secrecy at one time, I couldn't tell you about it now - if I hadn't been a member I wouldn't know about it, so I can't answer you. But, you see, in the nineteen thirties a Masonic town clerk had run the whole town. The French needed protection so a certain group or "nucleus" was formed with good aims and good leadership, but at a later date this group went too far.

To summarize, the war years witnessed a substantial growth in the power of the French community, through the success of commercial ventures, the ecological shift which regrouped larger numbers of French-speaking families within or immediately outside Kapuskasing, a new access to diverse and more prestigious areas of work, the organization of French labour, the emergence of the first secular leaders and the formation of associations consciously directed toward reinforcement of cultural identity and the assertion of French interests.

#### Post War Years - Changing Faces and Roles

Less obvious than the growth of the French community, but perhaps equally important in understanding the radical changes of the war years, and the subsequent struggles of





the nineteen fifties, is an awareness of the conflicts which began to emerge within the English-speaking group itself. Whereas the French-speaking group possessed some homogeneity in terms of socio-economic status, religion and language, and a sense of permanence in the community, the English group was fragmented along many lines. The English-speaking labourer often found himself ranged alongside the French millhand in issues where "labour" and "management" became significant definitions of differences. In matters of religion, the rivalries of the Protestant sects and the growth of a very sizeable English Catholic population served as divisive influences. On Occasion, the differences between mill oriented and town oriented elements defined the lines of friction within the English community. The war years had been a period of maturation for town interests which were independent of, or conflicting with, those of the mill. Accommodation for teachers became just such an issue in 1946, when seniormembers of the public school teaching staff pressed demands that new living quarters be made available. While teachers were billeted temporarily in the school itself, the mill was accused of "exploitation" and "neglect" of the educational needs of Kapuskasing's resident population. In all of this, the intermediary position and role conflicts of the mill employed municipal officials, and board members, were brought forcefully to the attention



of both factions. Intervention of the Provincial government was required in order to achieve a settlement, by which new residences were constructed and leased to the teachers.

Alleged abuse of power by the mill executive during the war years became another issue which served to strain the solidarity of the English community, and to emphasize internal differences in income and outlook. At a time when travel was restricted one mill executive continued to use a private railway car for trips to Cochrane. The son of this senior official was assigned the mail delivery from Post Office to mill - a distance of less than a mile - and thus obtained exemption from military service and from gas rationing, according to one irate informant.

In 1944, the construction of a Kimberly Clark crepe wadding mill, adjoining the Spruce Falls operation, had the effect of underscoring the religious dichotomy; several senior Kimberly-Clark personnel were Roman Catholics. Since Kimberly-Clark was the parent company, the numerous reports that religious discrimination was eased during this period may well be accurate. At any rate, the presence of a new and powerful Catholic group must have intimidated the traditional activities of the lodges, and strengthened the emerging role of the English Catholic as mediator between the groups and occasional confidant of each. In 1944, the high school board began a reversal of earlier discriminatory



hiring practices, and undertook a conscious selection of a "suitable" proportion of English Catholic teachers. In the same period, there was inaugurated a tax split, allocating some forty per cent of the mill's assessment to the Separate School Board, in the face of considerable opposition from within the English community. "All the men on the school boards were company men; they were told to vote that way. What could they do?" commented a public school teacher. The move was indicative of the new attitude in the mill toward the French Canadian worker, of the continued dominance of the mill influence in Municipal politics, and of growing dissension within the English community.

Thus it was that as the mill town emerged from the war years, the growing French population found itself in a new position of strength, while the autocratic independence of the English community had abated, leaving a somewhat uncertain balance of power between various English-speaking elements, each of which possessed an increased awareness of the necessity for a new entente with the French in Kapuskasing.

The rapid pace of growth in the early post war years did not ease during the following decade as enlargement of the mill, expansion of commerce and communications, and the location of military and hydro electric developments nearby all served to keep the local economy buoyant.





The French continued to open up new areas of work and to displace the English from lower ranks of management. Such changes at the local Post Office forced recognition of the change upon the whole community, eliciting some bitterness from the English. The wife of the first postmaster, who had been a pioneer settler, regarded the appointment of a French-speaking postmaster as a downgrading of the office itself, and as something of a slur upon the family, although she noted that they had always employed "a little French girl" from the earliest days of the postal service. Lamenting the loss of the English-speaking postmaster, a public school official commented: "If you get an entire group of French Canadians in a job you've got to get an English-speaking person, or some other race, as the boss, otherwise they won 't give good service. They'll mess up their boss." He noted, too, that only one public school graduate was employed in the Kapuskasing post office; "I've got after the Postmaster several times," he added.

The town limits were enlarged by annexation, with the construction of new subdivisions in 1948, fifty-one, fifty-three, fifty-five and fifty-eight successively. Within the town, the 1941 population of 3,431 had grown to 4,687 by 1951, to 5,463 in 1956, 6,870 in 1961, and by 1963 was in excess of 7,000. Brunetville and Val Albert, which had held perhaps two hundred families at the end of the war,



grew steadily to reach an estimated 2,000 total in the mid-fifties. At the time of amalgamation in 1964 these districts contributed a population which was almost certainly in excess of 4,000 persons.

In general, what was true of the province, in terms of the age structure of the population during the post war decade, was more pronounced throughout the whole district of Cochrane and was particularly accentuated in Kapuskasing. This was a young community; by the end of the nineteen fifties almost one half of the population was in the age group of nineteen years and under. As might be anticipated, the concentration of a large, young and economically mobile French population within and about the town of Kapuskasing gave rise to an enormous post war surge in the development of French language institutions.

At the end of the war, one separate school, dating from 1925, still served the needs of both French and English Catholics. In 1948, a second large bilingual school was built in the centre of the town; within five years, additional schools and adjoining churches were erected in both Val Albert and Brunetville. In 1959, the English Catholics acquired their own church and school, located at a mid point between the old town and its new subdivision, effectively easing pressure for expansion of the French language classes. Each of the new separate schools was





subsequently enlarged, as were those in the smaller French communities adjacent to Kapuskasing. In 1964, construction began on a new bilingual school in the centre of Kapuskasing with planning for still more schools and additions made necessary by continued overcrowding.

Within the space of little more than fifteen years the separate elementary school system had mushroomed, to dwarf the public owned rival which had expanded in a much less spectacular fashion. While many of the French were themselves fully aware of shortcomings occasioned by such rapid growth, they nevertheless tended to view the growth of the schools as symbolic of a potential for success in "competition" with the English. A young French lawyer argued that:

The public school board is perhaps envious of the fact that with less public money the separate school board has better school buildings, that they have as good a staff, and are building extensions for the schools .... and all this on less money. This "hurts" the public school board because it means they must admit to some weakness. The separate school (for example) was the first one to have a gymnasium in Kapuskasing.

It is true that the English have been unable to avoid invidious comparison, and that some bitterness does exist. The senior employee of the public school board expressed this clearly:

When I came here (1928) there were eight classrooms in the public school and six in the separate school, today (1964) there are twenty-nine classrooms in the public school, and more than ninety in the separate schools .... all these new schools were built through illegal use of taxes; that's one thing that's burned me up all these years.



With the schools came the new churches and parish organizations as well as the parent-teacher groups; physical facilities such as the auditorium or skating rink helped to maintain the parish as a social unit and as a focus for recreation, emphasizing the exclusiveness of the religious community. Catholic French fraternal and service organizations flourished.(5) Chevaliers de Colomb, Club Richelieu, Femmes Canadiens Francais, Dammes d'Isabelle - providing new opportunities for office, granting religious perspective and the use of the mother tongue. These were satisfactions which had not been obtainable through the English dominated counterparts such as the Rotary, or Lions in which the French remained active, however, satisfactions moreover which the community could now afford both numerically and financially.

Via Rouyn and Timmins, the north was brought into increased contact with the prestigious centres of French Canadian culture. Radio, and eventually television supplemented a continued exposure to French language "revues," to challenge the dominance of English centres in the mass media. The effect was to strengthen the prestige of the French language vis a vis English, and to provide role models for the commercially and professionally successful bourgeoisie who were becoming aware of the opportunities for leadership, but were uncertain both of their proximate goals, and of the tactics to be employed.



### The Problem of Leadership

Considerable leadership was required during the rapid growth and change of the post war years, and tradition demanded such leadership from the French clergy, who, however, proved inadequate to the changing situation. Their failure was evident in their precipitation and weak handling of a series of crises, each of which occasioned loss of prestige and an unwilling transfer of power to the new lay elite. The priests were for the most part Quebec born and trained; their tactics were authoritarian, demanding absolute support of the laity and taking little account of the weak bargaining position of the French within Kapuskasing.

Perhaps the most important of these crises arose in the mid-fifties over the question of the separate schools. With the cost of separate schooling considerably higher than that for public school attendance, the clergy had been forced to maintain a constant and vigorous pressure for support and enlargement of the Catholic institutions. Parents who sent children to the public school were on occasion denounced by name from the pulpit or were denied communion. One French Catholic woman, dwelling on the outskirts of Kapuskasing, with a family of six, found herself on relief following her husband's desertion. In order to avoid the generally higher cost of a separate school education, which included the purchasing of texts, she transferred her chil-





dren to the public school. At her next confession, she was told by the parish priest that she might not receive communion, and that she was to consider herself excommunicated. This woman has not since attended church.(6) While the church regulations everywhere required a "letter of permission" for public school attendance, these extraordinarily severe coercive measures, taken at a time when the letter had become little more than a formality throughout the rest of the province, suggest the authoritarian bent of the local French clergy.

In the mid nineteen fifties, under the leadership of one of the town priests, a show of strength was attempted in what was to become one of the most dramatic and divisive issues in Kapuskasing's history. With the clear support of the Bishop of Hearst, of the nuns who were teaching locally, the Association des Parents et Instituteurs and of the Order of Jacques Cartier, the priest began a drive to "awaken" the French community, to wrest municipal power from the mill and to establish French language secondary schooling. A French lawyer came from Ottawa to direct the efforts of the local Jacques Cartier Order and soon succeeded in placing three members of this organization on the separate school board in order to ensure the prompt establishment of Grades Nine and Ten in the Kapuskasing separate schools. As one informant put it: "He planned



to railroad through Grades Nine and Ten." Ostensibly, however, the board acted upon a request of the Association des Parents et Instituteurs. A French businessman, who later became deeply involved in the conflict, stated: "Father -- was going 'to make over the town.' He brought in a lawyer and went to see the mill manager - told him everything was going to be different." A mill executive reported: "Father -- raised hell with the company - wrote a vicious letter to Mr. -- (mill manager). I wrote a reply for him, arguing against the duplication of high school facilities. That priest replied 'Threat is a stimulant to me!'"

If the crudity of these tactics was alone insufficient to account for the disastrous rout which followed, it was a miscalculation of the reaction of both French and Catholic groups themselves which constituted the most serious error. The French bourgeoisie were annoyed and embarrassed at this form of leadership which had been thrust upon them from outside; the Chevaliers de Colomb, mobilized by a local politician and a high school teacher, both French-speaking, focussed dissatisfaction through public meetings, took a stand against the policy of the school board, and sought the removal of the priest through intervention at Hearst.

Support on religious lines was weaker than that demonstrated on the ethnic front; the Catholic community





divided sharply, accentuating existing tensions and creating a breach which persists today. The "Irish," by which term the French refer to the English speaking Catholics, whether they be Polish, English, Irish or Italian, had no comparable linguistic goals, and could not accept the religious motivation as adequate grounds for increased taxation, or for competition with a high school in which their children were already relatively successful. The ambivalence of the English Catholic position in Kapuskasing was evident; this was ostensibly a religious issue which might have cut across historically tense ethnic lines, and yet the move reflected so clearly the linguistic and cultural aspirations of the French clique, their control over the school board and their growing sense of strength and self consciousness that the English Catholics were moved to a bitterness and antagonism unmatched by the other English-speaking elements. One town councillor expressed the belief, confirmed by many observers, that strain between English and French Catholics was greater than any tension between language groups. The presence of English Catholics challenged the traditional structure of the French ideology which identified Catholicism so completely with the traditional French Canadian values relating to the family, to the educational philosophy of "la formation morale," and to the hierocratic domination still exercised in the rural



community. To the extent that sacred and secular values were divorced or redefined by reflection upon the behaviour of the English Catholics, the sphere of clerical authority was restricted. It became, in the same measure, more difficult to think of the French "cause" as something of a crusade, to see social or economic deprivations as a "martyrdom", or to appeal on these grounds. To the degree that such redefinition did not take place, of course, the "Irish " were regarded as "poor" or "weak" Catholics.

In the school issue, for example, any argument that a Catholic student must lose his faith or compromise his morals through attendance at a school which was "not Catholic" - as contended in support of the bilingual schools - was clearly weakened by the presence of a very large number of Catholics who expressed satisfaction and confidence in the District School. Had the French community been able to martial and present unity on the religious front, their complex of aims might well have been attained; in refusing support, the English were regarded as having "sold out" to their Protestant fellows.

From the English Catholic point of view, the common religious identification was a threat to status, and the activity of the French priests an acute embarrassment. Establishment of a physically separate church and school eventually facilitated the strengthening of a distinctive "liberal" Catholic identity and expressed a disassociation



from French Catholicism as Kapuskasing had come to know it.

Facing opposition from the "Irish" Catholics and from within the French community itself, the priest and his associates fell easy prey to the economic and political sanctions of the mill. By turning over the assessment for the Community Club, Hospital and Inn to the public school, the mill effectively withdrew all assistance to the separate school board. As the mill rate soared, irate taxpayers flocked to the support of the French moderates and "intellectuals" who now openly challenged both priest and board. Although there was still widespread support in principle for Catholic secondary schooling, it was clear to the community at large that highhanded, rash and costly tactics had predestined the movement to failure. As the cure of a neighbouring parish was later to admit: "It might have succeeded if it had been handled so as not to vex the people .... there was one who came from the East, a lawyer; he failed to do the thing right .... We cannot be bold with the authorities. We are best when we expose our problem; then we come to an understanding."

Before the offending cure was removed, through the influence of the mill with Toronto clergy, a separate school ratepayers' meeting was held. In an effort to restore confidence in the leadership of the clergy it was explained that the priest had been acting on "orders from the Bishop"





and that the premature move had been the "blunder of those who advised the Bishop." Grades Nine and Ten were terminated in the secondary school board programme and the mill resumed, in the following year, the 60/40 tax split between public and separate schools. The separate school board was changed at the next election.

The residual effects of the crisis were quite significant for the development of the French community. First, the prestige of the French "nationalist" organizations and secret societies fell considerably following the withdrawal of earlier local leaders, and the failure of the organizers from Ottawa. While the Jacques Cartier continued in Kapuskasing, and even today numbers several school teachers and priests among its followers, membership remained small, (about twelve) and activity became more cautious and covert. Moreover, the group had earned the distrust of the rising commercial and political elite, many of whom reported that they were subsequently approached with regard to membership, and that they refused; the most important channels of influence in community affairs were thus closed to the "nationalist" group, in part accounting for their decline and present weakness.

A second permanent outcome of this crisis was the accentuation of the rift between French and "Irish" Catholics; the continuing divergence of opinion over Catholic



secondary school education forced the establishment of private bilingual schooling in Grades Nine and Ten, which was thus entirely at the expense of the French community. Even in 1965, when a resolution to the problem seemed to be in sight, there was a good deal of censure from the French who claimed that "because they (the Irish) don't see the need for it, they don't want us to have it." While the pre-occupation of the French in educational matters tended toward easement of cultural and linguistic difficulties, the structure of the school system demanded that such issues be transposed for bargaining to the level of religion where the English Catholics were in effect granted a significant voice in the educational affairs of the French-speaking population. This was at the root of much of the enduring tension between the groups.

The most important change which was hastened and documented by the crisis over Grades Nine and Ten was the failing leadership of the clergy and the trial of influence on the part of Kapuskasing's secular elite. After the mid-fifties, the clergy modified their tactics, seeking a less direct command over the growing power of the French-speaking community. Where one still thought of the cure as the dominant figure in the rural communities (although this was becoming perhaps less true of Moonbeam), and even in the sizeable nearby town of Smooth Rock Falls, it was apparent that



the situation was now quite different in Kapuskasing.

If the priests failed initially in their efforts to establish an alternative to the public secondary school, they made little progress in improving the lot of those French students remaining within the high school. After 1944, a new high school administration had reflected the more liberal outlook of the English community and efforts were made to involve the French parents in the school. Some native French-speaking teachers were employed, alternate French and English speakers were invited to commencement exercises, and the French language was utilized from the platform at official gatherings. Despite a show of annoyance from some Southern Ontarians, there was some measure of success. In the words of one influential board member:

There was a change in the spirit of the board .... we tried to get distinguished French speakers - it had a great impact on the French, who appreciated this. There was an attempt to retain liaison with parents in their native tongue, and the French gained confidence in the school .... we broke down their fear of English. The French began to participate in sports, and to mix. We needed a lot of close association, a sharing of recreational and sports experiences.

At the same time, tentative programs of French language instruction were explored in the public elementary school, but opposition of the lodges barred the establishment of a regular programme of oral and written work.

The good will at the high school actually became a source of embarrassment to the French clergy when, in





the late nineteen fifties, Kapuskasing's board invited all the priests and ministers into the school to offer religious instruction. (Although the district inspector had given tacit approval to the plan, the board chairman had been warned that any public protest over religious instruction would result in a letter ordering termination of the programme.)

The local French priest, successor to the cure who had precipitated the crisis over Grades Nine and Ten, did not appear anxious to cooperate; according to one observer, he continued to "needle" the board, asking for a better time in the school day. Simultaneously, this priest was working closely with the Sisters employed by the separate school board toward the establishment of a private Catholic secondary school. What was evident was that increased cooperation with the high school, and the availability of religious instruction in that setting, were developments serving to weaken the demands for extension of separate schooling. Although Catholic educational philosophy distinguishes sharply between religious instruction, and Catholic education, as do the French clergy, such distinctions do not always have the same appeal for the laity, particularly for the lower income groups.

Perhaps, without implying a necessary consciousness of this ambivalence in the support of two schools, it can simply be noted that as efforts to make the high school



more accessible and more attractive to the French group became pronounced, the unsettled patterns of leadership and the lack of support from French clergy served to minimize their effectiveness.

Occasional conflicts over religious and moral issues continued to spotlight French and English differences over the high school. When the high school principal -- "he's a Frenchman, but a terrific guy!" according to one board member -- stopped attending mass, pressure was brought to bear unsuccessfully upon the board for his dismissal. In 1959, a more serious issue arose when a French teacher was dismissed from the Kapuskasing public school for alleged indecent acts involving female pupils. Some three weeks later a display advertisement appeared in the Kapuskasing newspaper, accusing the male teachers at the high school of similar behaviour. The high school board chairman arranged for Spruce Falls' solicitors to initiate a suit for libel, and attempted to contact the "advertiser" through the owner of the newspaper, a resident of Hawkesbury. At this point, the chairman received a long distance call from the French priest who had been transferred to Ottawa in the interim following the incident. The priest threatened that the Board would be "in trouble" if they were to proceed with the suit, and urged the chairman to withdraw the legal action. In reply, the chairman proposed three conditions -



a printed retraction and apology, a \$500.00 donation to the high school girls' athletic society, and payment of lawyers' fee. These conditions being met, the chairman agreed to forego further legal action. Within a short time, the apology was printed and a cheque was received drawn on the account of the local newspaper. Although the anonymity of the advertiser was thus preserved, the chairman, and some others of the English community, were convinced that the authorship was French and that the motives were in part retaliatory. On the other hand, several informants, both French and English, claimed to know "the group" responsible for the advertisement, and named the members, all English-speaking.

Whatever the real facts of authorship, the attack had been directed to an area particularly sensitive in terms of French-English relations. Campaigning for a private French secondary school had been conducted in large measure upon the charge of inadequate supervision and discipline, with resultant scholastic and moral laxity, in the public high school. The advertisement, whether or not based upon fact, appeared to lend weight to the charges of the French clergy. Once again, however, the threatening tactics of the priests had been proved inadequate in negotiations with the English.

Nineteen-sixties - Conciliation and Reconciliation - The





### New Entente

By the nineteen sixties, the experience of the failures of the clergy as effective spokesmen for the French community had been fully translated into a growing consciousness of power among the bourgeoisie. Influential merchants and professionals daily debated new possibilities for action in politics and education. A Catholic secondary school had finally been achieved by Les Soeurs Grises with the aid of subscription and tuition drawn in large part from the bourgeoisie of Kapuskasing. Legislation equalizing support for the separate schools gave a greater guarantee of independence in planning at the elementary level; with local economic sanctions effectively minimized. Municipal amalgamation, welding Brunetville and Val Albert to the old town of Kapuskasing marked a further transfer of political control to the French community: "Up until the last election the French never took any interest in Municipal politics .... they always figured the mill was running everything. For the last twenty years the council has been Anglo-Saxon and Protestant; they ran the town: but about three or four years ago the loosening of company holds opened up .... political opportunity," noted one elderly English resident. Of course the French had been politically active earlier, but their representation had been more symbolic than effective; in the nineteen sixties, by contrast,



the influence of the French Canadian community has exceeded the visible representation of French-speaking members on municipal bodies. There has developed a very definite entente between the "moderates" of both language groups, and recent municipal government has made use of informal contact between the groups to clear broad lines of policy in advance.

A very recent municipal crisis served to illustrate this new coalition. Unexpectedly, in 1964, the public school board announced its intention of appealing the mills' traditional school tax assessment split. Such an appeal would of necessity have resulted in the designation of the mill as a public school supporter. Even with the new "equalization grants" made available in 1963, the increase of separate school rates, and the psychological impact of the move upon the French community, would have precipitated an extremely tense situation, which might have been extremely divisive in the long run. All the influence of the English moderates was brought to bear upon the public school board members. The mayor interviewed during the crisis appeared both annoyed and threatened; annoyed because the conservative elements of the English community had taken him by surprise and had placed him in an embarrassing position, threatened because he saw that while there were no official sanctions which could be invoked, his administration was clearly expected to preserve the traditional tax concession. Not only did the mayor approach board members individually, but he consulted as well with the mill manager, who subse-



quently called the board chairman before him to request that the appeal be withdrawn. Although the chairman ostensibly refused, the board asked for postponement, at its first hearing, and subsequently withdrew the appeal. According to the official statement of the board, the appeal was relinquished because a study undertaken by the local auditors had revealed the extent to which additional financial burdens upon the separate school supporters might have been increased. One member of the Separate School Board summarized the new compact in this way: "It would be better if the Public School graded the loss of the mill assessment over two years or so. We're supposed to meet with the Public School Board; there's an unwritten agreement came out of the mill appeal this year. I don't blame the Public School Board. We'd do the same thing, but it's a problem of timing with building costs."

According to one Public School Board member, the subject of assessment had been raised unexpectedly, with the motion to appeal passed at the same meeting. Support came from the older board members and from the principal, whose strong views were well known in the community. The only woman member of the board was not subjected to any pressures in the period before the appeal was withdrawn, but she was considered relatively without influence and had not been a prime supporter. It is safe to assume that





the pressure was felt primarily by those senior board members who were responsible for the move.

Neither the board members nor the English community at large could have remained unaware of the strong reactions of the French. One leading political figure, a town councillor, and district head of the Association des Parents et Instituteurs, was outspoken in his bitterness over the incident. Blaming the failure of English-speaking politicians to control "Orange extremists," he argued that the French community had been "betrayed" by the moderate English. In addition to the investigation of the possibility of increasing overall educational grants to the town through use of the new "equalization grants" - the officially stated proximate goal of the public school board - this French spokesman suggested the traditional personal animosities of the hard core orangemen, and a need to cover recent administrative inefficiencies, as possible motives for the move. Certain that the appeal would "split the French and English in the community," he suggested that increased costs for separate schools might result in their closure, and a "taking over" of the public school board by a majority French-speaking electorate. Improbable as such a proposal might be, it was indicative of the strength of feeling engendered by the incident.(7)



With the unexpected retirement of the mayor in mid-term of 1965, both French and English moderates were anxious for a candidate who might be expected to preserve the entente. Although discussion of municipal politics generally focussed upon specific local problems, the stand of each councillor, or other potential candidate, on issues which had strong ethnic group implications was noted, as also was the intimacy of relationships with the French-speaking town elite. Once again, it appears likely that the French majority will be content with an English mayor, and with a minority representation on council, provided that informal access to decision making remains assured.

Recently, one of the most divisive issues has been the plan to develop a new subdivision in the "English-speaking" area of the town. The amalgamation of Brunetville and Val Albert, in 1963, had already created enormous problems of planning, finance and administration, since the suburbs - long ignored and effectively deprived of any benefits from mill assessment - lacked even the most elementary kinds of improvement in terms of health and communications. It was argued, then, that a new development would necessarily divert funds and attention from the acute problems of these older French districts. In order to "explain" the development to residents of Val Albert and Brunetville, a public meeting was held in the basement of the Val Albert church,

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where one dissentient English-speaking councillor denounced the move to the cheers of his French audience, as prolonging the relative deprivations of the French community. This same councillor has gained the confidence and intimacy of the leading French businessman, who appears ready to support him in the coming election. Although this picture may alter as new candidates emerge and new issues are explored prior to election, the overriding importance of the informal entente to the political life of Kapuskasing remains evident.

If the existence of a relatively stable and powerful coalition between "moderates" of both major language groups has proved a workable mechanism for the resolution of community problems, it also serves to cloak those more divisive residual issues, and to repress the "radicals" who would exploit them. Kapuskasing today takes public pride in the growing goodwill and cooperation between French and English; when this research project at Kapuskasing was first announced, the local press interpreted the study in this way: "It is apparently felt that the key to a workable biculturalism may be found in these areas where the two languages have lived successfully together for years." (8)

Indeed, the present optimistic climate of "friendly rivalry" masks a long history of some rather bitter strug-





gles and conceals, as well, the continued existence of deep differences between the two major language groups. Overt hostility is no longer nursed from the pulpit, the political platform or the mill superintendent's office, but conflicts persist at least in so far as the French are systematically disadvantaged within certain shared institutions and to the extent that they remain conscious of a burden of historic "wrongs." With the gradual emergence of a finer balance of local power, however, new incentives, and new mechanisms for bargaining have been found. The new entente maintains a greater illusion of coherence as the perennial debate grows in subtlety and seclusion.

#### Foot-Notes

- (1) W. Kirkconnell: Kapuskasing: An Historical Sketch (Queens Bulletin, 1921)
- (2) A town council minute of January, 1927, read: "It was unanimously decided after considerable discussion that in consequence of strong complaints having been made to Council regarding the condition of the town as regards bootlegging, bawdy houses and gambling places, that the Chief of Police should be requested by letter to give the matter his immediate attention, with instruction to proceed to 'clean up the town' without further delay."
- (3) Kapuskasing "Northern Times" Dec. 1964 through March, 1965.
- (4) Ontario Government Regional Economic Survey
- (5) Of the six major French language formally organized associations in Kapuskasing, all were inaugurated after 1940, although their English counterparts had already been active for more than a decade.



- (6) This was not a unique case. The researchers encountered several instances of such discipline, and were informed that the sanction of excommunication had been regularly invoked during the period in question.
- (7) The issue was revived in late 1965 when the public school principal, within weeks of his retirement, exercised the privilege of the tax payer to appeal this assessment. The local court of revision subsequently rejected the appeal.
- (8) Northern Times (Kapuskasing) June 17, 1964.



SECTION II:

THE DILEMMA OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION:

PARALLELISM OR INTEGRATION





## II THE DILEMMA OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION: PARALLELISM OR INTEGRATION

Before offering a more detailed description of the character and structure of Kapuskasing's schools, or of their present difficulties, it might be useful to set down a broad outline of the general educational problem; such a statement, perhaps precisely because of its crudity, can give point and direction to the materials which follow. It is to such a framework, too, that we shall retreat, in order to assess, in conclusion, the full relevance of the research findings.

Perhaps the most obvious and persistent theme sounded in our brief historical sketch has been the initial and continuing divergence of a French-speaking and English-speaking groups, in terms not only linguistic, but ecological, economic, and religious as well. These groups came into the area for diverse reasons, possessed of very different skills, and with vastly disproportional support from centres of political power and economic influence. Each was assigned, so to speak, an economic and social role which, to the extent that it was not being rewritten, became traditional. Initially, the economic and social dominance of the English-speaking community rested upon virtual monopolies of capital, of technological skill, of the media of communication, of outside influence and of the requisite social skills attending industrialization and bureaucratization. While the English, then were able to realize,



very early, that kind of institutional development and life style consistent with the values of their parent communities, their problem became one of maintaining this dominance in the face of a mobile and growing French population. The problem for the French, on the other hand, was clearly one of penetrating or coming to terms with the English-dominated formal institutions of work, education and government, always struggling within those limits imposed by a lack of leadership experience or inability to crystallize and mobilize the force of French opinion, and by their fundamental economic vulnerability. Where the Catholic church early held the only key to coordinated action, the inapplicability of traditional goals to the new Ontario situation and the crude bargaining tactics of the priests resulted in failure. Coalition of the clergy with the rising commercial and professional bourgeoisie was established, to provide subtler and more effective, if less absolute controls: a situation which endures today.

The fundamental education dilemma of les Franco-Ontariens was manifest from the beginning: parallelism or integration? While this was a far more precise problem than the more abstract and long range question of 'assimilation', the educational riddle may be thought of



as an elemental, or derivative statement of that broad question, within a specific ontext. Whereas the larger question was diffuse, and admitted of a gradual redefinition, planning in education called for a series of concrete decisions, with specified goals and calculable results. Thus the question of survival- or conversely the threat of assimilation for the French in Ontario, came to be centred about the core instrument of linguistic and cultural continuity: the school. Crucial difficulties of les Canadiens Francais in the Ontario school system focus the basic problems of survival within shared and English dominated institutions. Thus, it may be hypothesized that analytically similar problems would be found in the areas of work, communication, politics or recreation.

There was never any question of an independent French language school system, just as there was never any near realization of an economically or politically independent French community in the north of the province. From the beginning, the question became one of the extent to which the Ontario school system could be adapted, modified, or supplemented in a community of French users, in order to bear the prime burden of ethnic continuity. The risk, of course, was that in so modifying these schools, their continuity with still shared institutions at the secondary





and tertiary levels of education might be ruptured. This did occur; indeed, in large measure such a fragmentation or isolation of the bilingual schools is an important determinant of today's difficulties. To the extent that the bilingual schools were removed, and insulated from the larger patterns of flow through the school system, they became terminal institutions from which the French young people had little access to higher education. Occupational opportunity was similarly restricted. The schools which might have been more crowded vehicles of social mobility, became, instead, so structured as to reflect, even to perpetuate, the disadvantaged socio-economic position of the French.

Isolation of the bilingual schools was a gradual and necessary effect of the aims of the administrators. The progressive increase in the extent of French usage in the elementary schools created a divergence of texts, influenced curricula and virtually eliminated standardized testing of both achievement and aptitudes. Religious aims required a compressed curricula to allow for catechism, prayers or other ritual observances and calendar loss of special feast days. More important, however, Catholic educational philosophy dictated the primary educational goal of "la formation morale",



which, together with the ranking interest in French language, displaced an emphasis on academic preparation which remained paramount in other areas of the school system.

As the medium of instruction shifted from English language through use of both languages, to French language almost exclusively, it became imperative to recruit teachers who shared not only the 'correct' educational outlook but those who possessed native ability in French. A pattern of recruitment developed in which staff were drawn largely from graduates of bilingual schools inside the area, thus further closing the system.

Separation of French and English language teachers' associations helped to hold this staff apart from the rest of the system, of which they had little experience, in any case.

Exceptionally rapid growth made for the establishment of many new "écoles <sup>i</sup>lingues" as isolated physically from the secondary schools as they were from any tradition of association with the system of public education. Clergy and bourgeoisie had set about the remodelling of a school system, the blueprints for which were now scarcely discernable as having been "made in Toronto". While primary objectives were met with considerable success within the separate schools it became increasingly apparent that the framework of the elementary school itself was, in many



ways, inadequate for the full realization of linguistic and religious goals in the community, in opposition to the growing pressures of English language media. At the same time, increasing demand for a more extended education, emphasized the difficulties of translating academic success in the 'bilingual' school into secondary school achievement. English language deficiency, particularly in rural areas, was compounded with variable academic preparation, and an abrupt change in milieu, to produce an extraordinary rate of mortality among French speaking students in the high schools.

Eventually, the simple increase of numbers made the terminal character of 'les ecoles bilingues' so apparent that the search for a solution had to begin in earnest. To the traditional supports of religion and language upon which the separate elementary schools had been built, the leaders of the French community were now able to add a very strong argument for academic efficiency, as they called for the support of bilingual education at the secondary school level. It is in this context that the educational dilemma of the French can be seen most readily: efforts were made simultaneously, both to reestablish continuity with the public high schools, and to inaugurate a rival system. On the one hand, an attempt was made to strengthen the instruction of English in the later elementary grades, to raise and coordinate standards of academic work in other subjects, and to maintain pressures upon the high school for special consideration





of French speaking students. At the Kapuskasing High School, the majority of these French students had, in fact, long been set apart in classes to which very different criteria of promotion were applied. On the other hand, the French community entered into a long and very costly struggle to establish a French language secondary school in Kapuskasing. Following an abortive attempt to establish grades Nine and Ten under the Separate School Board, which failed in part because of weak leadership and lack of consensus within the French community, and in part because of powerful economic censure from the English, a secondary school did come into operation under the Grey Nuns of the Cross.

The long term goal of equality in educational and occupational opportunity seems to demand access to Ontario's institutions of specialized or advanced education, <sup>as well as</sup> ~~and~~ to the English dominated world of commerce and industry, and thus appears to make integration with the public school system mandatory. More precisely, the possibility of such a transition must remain open if many career lines are not to be prematurely closed. The implications of such an interpretation remain unacceptable to the clergy and the bourgeoisie who are well aware that even the present isolation is but a minimal guarantee of cultural survival. Yet, the brief history of the private high schools, and the experience



of those who have turned to existing French language institutions in Quebec, or in other parts of Ontario, already suggests that a parallel system of secondary education may prove terminal still, at some point short of an equality in educational opportunity. The present inability of Kapuskasing's "Academie" to provide training for the crucial Departmental examinations of Grade Thirteen, and the subsequent limitations upon the placement of graduates are indices of this problem. Availability of French language education at all levels does not spell equality of educational opportunity, nor does the latter guarantee the desired accessibility of employment of income within the community. To the extent that the French in Kapuskasing are aware of this, their ambivalence in regard to education is readily understandable. Neither 'integration' nor 'parallelism' are acceptable overall policies to the French community, which continues to move in both directions in the throes of this dilemma.

The recent introduction of Ontario's diversified academic program has had a decisive and presumably unanticipated effect in forcing the community to face this dilemma, while at the same time, "stacking the cards" as to the outcome, so to speak. As the secondary school becomes more regional and less local in character, with its extended technical and commercial facilities, and increased



specialization of staff, the possibilities for offering comparable diversity and quality of instruction within the private school grow more remote.

Insufficient density of the French-speaking population, lack of funds for Catholic secondary education and unavailability of qualified staff all dictate against the growth of comparable private institutions. The French community today is only slowly awakening to the full realization that under the present system, the great majority of separate elementary school students must either continue to use the public high school, or be denied the many advantages of the diversified programme. Students whose vocational interests and whose aptitudes may be effectively channelled through the new programme may well be and are today, in many cases, subjected to academic failure in the difficult Arts and Science programme, through pressures for a Catholic and French language education. The cost of being a French Canadian in Ontario is on the rise.

Clergy, teachers and board members in Kapuskasing are both troubled and confused. Many continue to work in ignorance of the content and implications of the new programme; some direct their efforts primarily toward establishing rapprochement with the high schools, others strive only for the extension of the separate schools through Grades Nine and Ten, and for the expansion of the private facilities





in an effort toward total boycott of the public school system. At the high school, policies seem almost as uncertain: efforts to maintain past concessions to French students and to introduce curricula modifications designed to ease the transition from bilingual schools are countered by other pressures to adopt a harder line, with uniform treatment and uniform standards.

Teachers experience role conflicts as representatives of a monolithic provincial system on the one hand, and as community members charged with the solution of unique local problems on the other. To the extent that the teacher sees himself as a transient whose future is more dependent upon fidelity to the system than to the community, he may remain indifferent to the local educational crises.

In sum, there are a number of factors inhibiting the effective long range planning of secondary education for the bilingual community: (1) rapid turnover of teaching staff, involving the continued recruitment of teachers lacking perspective and sensitivity to the regional problems; (2) the relative inflexibility of curricula where remedial work may be required; (3) lack of formal or informal channels for liaison between the various segments of the school system, or between the public schools (primary and secondary) and the French speaking community at large; (4) the necessary dissipation of any reserve energies in the more concrete problems of expansion and programme diversification; (5) continued influence over public



school boards of vested interests in the English community; and (6) the apparent myopia of southern Ontario planners who have made no real structural provisions for bilingual education, although they have encouraged its development through the use of mechanisms intended to accommodate the needs of religious or rural groups.

French and English continue to seek independent, short-term solutions which become the occasions for renewed conflicts and difficulties, while offering little hope of a long run clarification.

These are the problems which Kapuskasing, and its surrounding villages face today. They are divisive issues, which touch upon the most sacred values of both French and English communities,<sup>issues</sup> moreover, which probably cannot be satisfactorily resolved within the local setting, hinged as they are upon provincial institutions.

In the following sections, an attempt will be made to sketch, and to document where possible, the major structural features of the schools, and attitudes concerning educational issues in Kapuskasing today. Through focus upon one community, it is expected that the research may provide some insight into those central problems of education, which may be presumed somewhat similar in bilingual communities throughout the north of the province.



## THE STUDY AREA

One of the chief values of the "community" framework for a review of educational problems must surely be the opportunity to observe closely the interaction of educational institutions and social structuring. Educational institutions may function to promote mobility, and thus to alter the nature of the community in which they are set; yet any school takes on a character which uniquely reflects the history and power structure of the social setting. To this extent, then, the school may tend, almost paradoxically, to strengthen and perpetuate existing social conditions.

In order to make the best use of a community perspective, a number of conditions had to be met in the selection of a suitable geographic area to be studied more or less intensively. While it was clear that the study area could not be too large, and that it should be somewhat homogeneous in terms of the basic definition of interests (i.e. bilingual throughout), it was necessary, too, that the area be heterogeneous enough to include all those ecological and institutional types found throughout the larger region. In this way, the chosen district would be as "representative" as possible, ensuring that, whatever the nature of local biases, observations could be presumed to have at least some relevance for larger areas and problems.

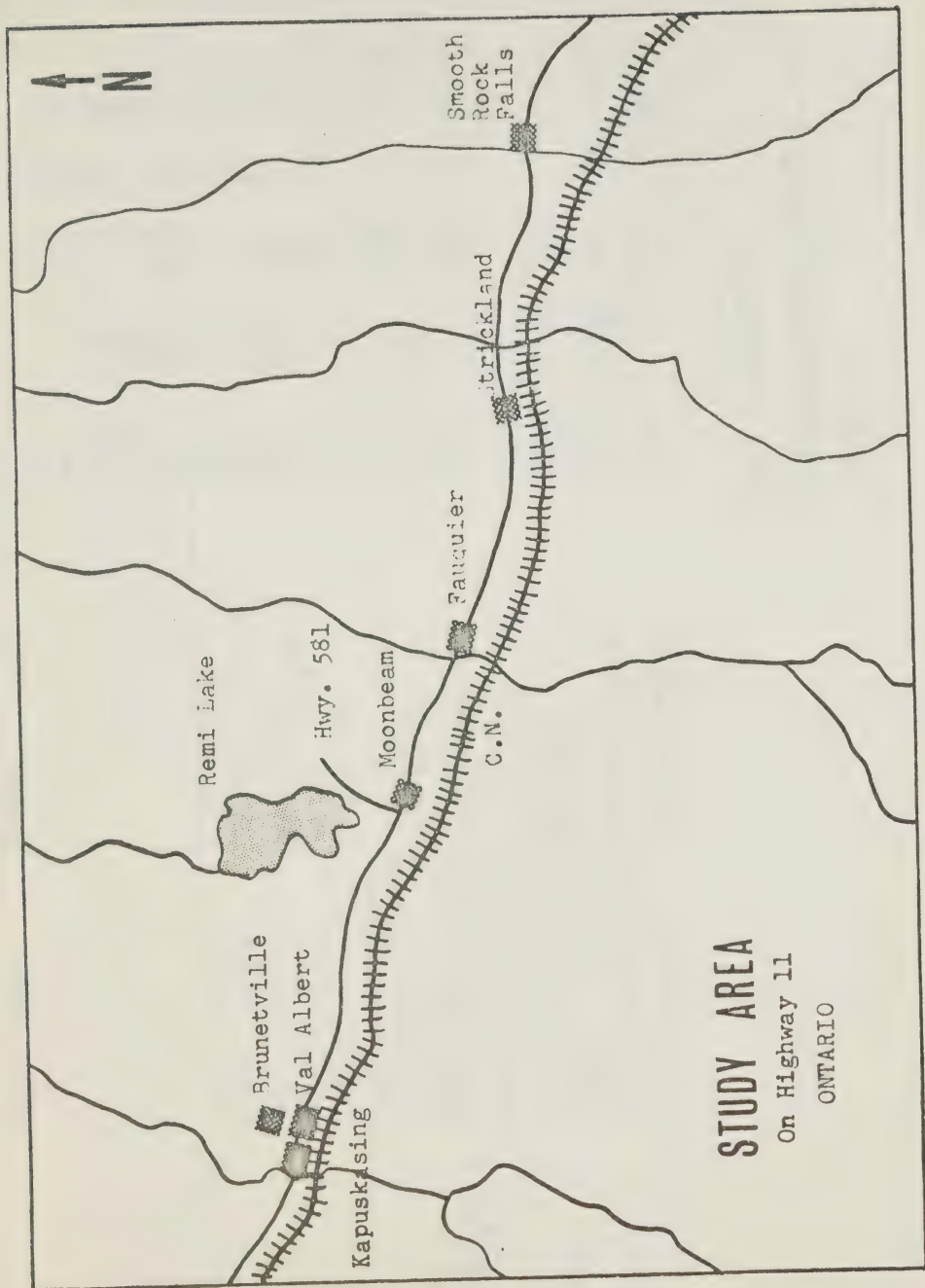
Clearly, neither a single urban nor rural area would satisfy such conditions. By selecting the area along Highway 11, from Kapuskasing to Smooth Rock Falls, inclusive, it was found that public, as well as both English and Bilingual separate schools could be included. At the secondary level it was found that a





continuation school, a large diversified high school, a bilingual secondary school, and elementary schools offering grades Nine and Ten were also encompassed. A range of community sizes, from several hundred (Strickland) to twelve thousand (Kapuskasing), a wide variety of socio-economic conditions, and the presence of a number of ethnic groups other than French and English also recommended this selection. The map on page                sketches the study area as it was finally delineated.







Community	School Board	School	Language of Instructor	Date of Opening	No. of Students	No. of Rooms	Number of Grades	No. of Teachers
								Lay Religious
Kapuskasing	CRCSS O'Brien	St. Patricks	Eng.	1959	457	14	K, 1-8	16
Kapuskasing	CRCSS O'Brien	Immaculee Conception	Bil.	1925	440	14	K, 1-8	11
Kapuskasing	CRCSS O'Brien	Sacre-Coeur	Bil.	1948	459	15	K, 1-8	11
Val Albert	CRCSS O'Brien	Jacques Cartier	Bil.	1953	541	17	K, 1-8	18
Brunetville	CRCSS O'Brien	Jeanne Mance	Bil.	1953	378	13	K, 1-8	14
Moonbeam	CRCSSU	St. Jules	Bil.	-	389	12	K, 1-10	11
Fauquier	Fauquier & Nansen	Ste Jeanne D'Arc	Bil.	-	309	11	K, 1-10	8
Strickland	Shakleton & Machin	St. Donat	Bil.	-	88	3	1-8	3
Smooth Rock Falls	Shackleton	Ste. Gertrude	Bil.	-	478	13	K, 1-8	10
	Kendrey & Smooth Rock Falls							
Kapuskasing	Public School Board	Eastview	Eng.	1960	243	8	K, 1-5	8
Kapuskasing	Public School Board	Diamond Jubilee	Eng.	1927	632	21	K, 1-8	23
Smooth Rock Falls	TSA Kendrey	TSA of Kendrey F. S.	Eng.	-	158	5	K, 1-8	5

# BASIC INFORMATION

## ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN STUDY AREA

(TABLE A)





SECTION III:

ISOLATION OF THE BILINGUAL SCHOOLS



### III ISOLATION OF THE BILINGUAL SCHOOLS

In setting forward a general outline of regional educational problems, it was merely asserted that the separate schools had become isolated and fragmented members of the hierarchical system of educational institutions. It will be the burden of this section not only to clarify the use of the term "isolation" but to explore and evidence the major directions of severance and discontinuity.

It will be argued here that "isolation" consists in (1) an absence of effective channels of communication, either formal or informal between bilingual and public institutions, (2) a selection pattern for both elected and salaried functionaries closing the system to an awareness or experience of changing competitive conditions at the secondary level, (3) an emphasis of cultural and linguistic goals over religious or academic aims, producing a system which is essentially French language rather than "bilingual", and (4) a drift from provincial academic curricula and standards through the absence of effective comparative or coordinating mechanisms. These developments have been a function not only of the religious aims of these separate schools, but, as our historical sketch has suggested, of the rapid and independent growth of a French catholic population unable to use effectively the English dominated public institutions. Section 4 will suggest the effects of isolating one segment of the educational system, in terms of the necessity of transition and the difficulty of adjustment.



### Sketches of Schools and Communities

While similarities between bilingual schools can be stressed by comparison, as a group, with the public schools, there are obvious and important differences between individual schools and groups of schools, differences arising largely out of the ecological structure of this area.

Four bilingual schools are operated by the Kapuskasing board, two in the central area of town, and one in each of the improvement districts, now annexed (Val Albert and Brunetville). The two town schools function, in fact, if not in name, as one system sharing a single "Association des Parents et Instituteurs", and combining for many religious activities at the adjoining Church of the Immaculee Conception. The oldest of the separate school buildings, "L'Ecole Immaculate Conception", which once housed both English and French speaking girls and boys, has been enlarged as a girls' school, and is now directed and partly staffed by les Soeurs Grises de la Croix. Facing this old red brick building, on the opposite side of Queen Street, is the somewhat newer (1948) boys' school, L'Ecole Sacre Coeur, employing the Brothers of the Sacred Heart. While these two schools are today crowded, and lacking in some of the physical facilities possessed by the more modern adjacent schools, antiquated appearances belie their standing in the eyes of the French community. The "town schools" possess very much the character and aura of an English private school, which they resemble in many ways,





and through which metaphor they can best be understood. In the orientation of the teaching staff, in educational philosophy, in their relationships with the Public schools, and in the character of the student body, these institutions ~~may~~ differ considerably from their rural counterparts.

Severity and austerity might be thought of as keynotes to the atmosphere of the town schools. The predominant interests of religion and language are reflected in the decoration of otherwise bare but clean classrooms - crucifixes, statues, religious vocational literature and slogans such as "gloire à Dieu" or "soit une lumière pour le monde" are to be found in every room. Facsimiles of the Canadian flag, which elicited tremendous enthusiasm in all the bilingual schools are to be seen on virtually every wall. Both town schools displayed a preponderance of material on French language - part of the "Bon Parler" campaign waged through the local paper, the schools and the Association des Parents et Instituteurs. Students were urged to "get rid of Anglicisms!" or, alternatively, "Soyons frères de notre language". At Immacul<sup>ée</sup>~~ate~~ Conception all subjects, except English language itself, are taught entirely in French: only one teacher at that school reported having used English in the instruction of another subject, during an average week, and that was for one hour only, in science. All contact with the students outside the classroom is conducted in French, and the pupils are urged by some teachers, although not all, to use <sup>only</sup> French amongst themselves, outside the classroom. As the principal noted, "Nous



encouragous le francais beaucoup a l'école car ils opt assez d'anglais en dehors". At Sacré Coeur, more subjects are taught with English as a medium of instruction, and the teachers gave emphasis rather to the promotion of "correct " French - the Bon Parler - than to the use of French in place of English. Discipline at these schools is excellent, as the researchers had frequent opportunity to observe, both formally and informally. Manners, and deportment in the answering of questions compared favourably with what was observed of the public schools, or other bilingual schools. These two schools do have an enrollment which encompasses a wide range of socio-economic groups, but a substantial number of students come, nevertheless, from the wealthier town-dwelling French who themselves take great pride and interest in the schools, and in the "politesse" and "propriété" of their children.

In this regard, the functioning of the Association des Parents et Instituteurs is of great interest. In theory, the Association provides the dual opportunity for teachers to keep parents informed about changes in education, while the latter express their interests to the teachers. In many ways, however, the A.P.I. meetings, in these and other bilingual schools, serve as media through which the educational aims of the clergy and the new bourgeoisie are expounded and "sold" to parents.

The executive of the Association des Parents et Instituteurs is composed of some senior members of the staff (clerics), the local curé and a few parents from middle class families situated on the fringe of the powerful French élite.





The president for example, was a senior clerk of long standing in the employment of the most influential French family in the community. The regional head of the Association des Parents et Instituteurs is a well respected member of the élite, a town councillor and Provincial Liberal candidate. At one executive meeting, attended by the researchers, the major item of business became the nomination of a new slate of officers. The most obvious and available candidate for presidency was a local printer, author of the French column in Kapuskasing's weekly paper, who had held a similar position in Sudbury. In the absence of this candidate, the committee decided to approach 'first' a member of the French commercial and professional élite; only if he refused would they discuss the nomination with the printer. The latter was clearly seen as a valuable ally, but was not yet identified with the élite whom he could approach neither in income nor in length of residence. In all these deliberations, the priest made no attempt to initiate action or discussion of any kind, but leading participants were nevertheless careful to gauge his reaction to all new proposals. The strongest and most active voices overall were those of the president, and the principal of the girls' school.

When the election of officers was later put to a public meeting, the past president was re-elected/suggesting <sup>by acclamation</sup> that the attempts to secure the more powerful figurehead had failed, and that the printer had either declined or had never been asked. At this same meeting, in the church basement, four talks were delivered to an extremely enthusiastic crowd





of perhaps three hundred parents: an exhortation to support the "Bon Parler" campaign, delivered by the principal of Immaculée Conception school, a talk on the new Catechism curriculum, given by one of the parish priests and an explanation of a new system of examinations to be run on an experimental basis in the two town schools. The trifold interests of language, religion and scholarship having been duly served, parents then heard a brief address on "the child and the law" by a young French-speaking lawyer from Smooth Rock Falls, now practising in Kapuskasing and already accepted by the élite of the town. The Association des Parents et Instituteurs is an acknowledged force in education within the French community; its meetings, in times past, have brought crucial issues to public discussion; but it is definitely not a voice which is in any measure independent of the influence of the ruling triumvirate of priests, teachers and bourgeoisie.

The principals of both these town schools are teachers of extraordinary qualification, experience and personal abilities. The nun who was appointed as superior at L'Ecole Immaculée Conception in 1964-65 is herself a native of Kapuskasing, where her family are even now resident. She received her education at the school ~~where~~ which she now directs, and later trained in Ottawa and Toronto. Several years ago, this nun returned to Kapuskasing to preside over the opening of a private bilingual secondary school.



A woman of definite and outspoken views, the sister bears a strong sense of past "injustices", particularly with regard to the former difficulties of Catholic and French language schools. In particular, she points to the inferior position of French language in the community, alleging a history of conscious discrimination against French-speaking job applicants. Today, Sister Superior is perhaps the most ardent backer of the "bon parler" campaign; ("we want our children to speak French well first, then English"), <sup>as well as</sup> ~~and~~ an articulate advocate of bilingual secondary education. The present differential language demands of the Ontario high schools, and the unavailability of public funds for separate secondary schools, she <sup>views as</sup> ~~considers to be~~ injustices to Les Canadiens. Even the recent tax redistribution plan is seen as but "a step" in the right direction. The Sister Superior explains these issues to her senior classes, whom, she claims are "très surpris de voir vraiment la situation".

Perhaps the most incisive local observer of educational problems in Kapuskasing is the Brother Principal of the boy's school. Like the Sister Superior, this brother was a witness to educational difficulties in an earlier era in Kapuskasing, having taught there for a decade prior to 1955.

Although he feels that relations between French and English have improved in the last ten years, Frère Principal remains deeply troubled about the future of the French in Northern Ontario; survival is threatened, he argues, by the



current changes in the Ontario curricula (i.e. Robarts Plan), which have made the expansion of bilingual secondary school education more difficult, if not impossible.<sup>( )</sup> A careful observer of the situation in the Province of Quebec, the Brother is not altogether sympathetic with the separatist movement, but admits that a separate Quebec would be the only real guarantee of survival, and a source of greater bargaining power for Northern Ontario.

Brother Principal describes bluntly the weight of language interest in the elementary schools: "I think language has done more than religion to shape the character of the separate school system..... There were pressures to Anglicize the French till 1927. At first we had only one hour of French; now we teach all subjects in French, except "English language". The brother regards the lack of continuity between separate and public schools as a matter of grave concern. If this worry is more pronounced than any misgivings expressed by Sœur Superior, this is probably because he is less certain of the future of bilingual high schools, and is well aware, too, that many of his boys must continue to use the district high school in order to acquire a technical education. At any rate, he admits to the need for serious planning in order to remove the existing barriers to educational achievement for French-speaking students: "It's the fault of the high school and its our faults .... We're studying it, but they have to study it also" Brother Principal makes an oft heard comparison when he sums up the educational aims of the French language community -





"These aims can be summed up and identified to those of all the minority French Canadian groups of the rest of the province. We seek the same advantages that the English minority group enjoys, or is granted in the Province of Quebec. Both Frère Principal and Soeur Superior were new to their posts in 1964-65, reappointed to Kapuskasing at the same time that the Separate School Board began concrete planning for the addition of Grades Nine and Ten. Both possess Ontario High School Assistant ~~Association~~ qualifications.

Paradoxically, these schools, which possess the most well articulated and longstanding policies with regard to linguistic and religious aims, and are closest to the centres of power within the French community, are at the same time most open today to contact with the English and most receptive to cooperative undertakings. This can be explained by noting that their independence derives not so much from lingering mistrust of the English, or from remembrance of past "injustices" as from the new consciousness <sup>and sense of identity</sup> of the bourgeoisie. Les Franco - Ontariens are first "French", but they remain Ontarians as well: religion and mother tongue once served, they are most willing to develop additional English language skill as far as possible, and to interact with the English speaking group in so far as they are not placed initially at a disadvantage.

Such an attitude was well illustrated by the extent of cooperation with the present research. As in the town public school, the teaching and administrative staff of the Kapuskasing separate schools extended every possible aid and



courtesy in the research. Objective study of educational problems was genuinely welcomed here, and considerable trust was extended, presenting a sharp contrast with attitudes encountered in several rural communities.

The separate elementary schools with their adjoining churches are the only large and modern buildings in Brunetville and Val Albert. Their sprawling patchwork of progressively more attractive, even luxurious additions to the schools betrays the rapidity of growth but little suggests the poverty of the communities in which they are set. Of the two, Val Albert is the elder and the more prosperous; Brunetville is little more than a 'shack town'(f). "Suburban" developments have drained off the more mobile families maintaining a somewhat homogeneous population at the lower socio-economic levels, however, in both areas. The principal at Jacques-Cartier was blunt in his assessment of the implications for education; "From rural (Val Albert) to urban the difference in the mentality of the students is like night and day - lack of education in the family is the main reason: seventy percent of the parents here have less than Grade Ten education."

The Kapuskasing School Board has no representation from either Val Albert or Brunetville; the residents of these areas have looked to the bourgeoisie of central Kapuskasing for leadership in education, as in all other political areas. Where the town API flourishes under the guidance of the elite, with well-educated executive, the younger groups are led by

(f) See \_\_\_\_\_ for a description of the development of these communities.



skilled tradesmen: speakers are not recruited locally, but are selected from the town bourgeoisie, whose educational philosophy nourishes the newly conscious parenthood of the former improvement districts.

In recent years, the Kapuskasing Board has become increasingly aware of the social problems confronting these relatively new schools; problems reflected largely in failure through the early secondary grades. As a result of this attention, the staffing of these new schools today compares well with that of their town counterparts: total years of teaching experience for staff is roughly the same at Immaculee Conception, Sacre Coeur and Jacques Cartier, with the latter having a somewhat larger proportion of inexperienced staff in their first year of teaching (1964-5). Jeanne Mance, however, has a much larger accumulation of staff teaching <sup>experience</sup> (forty percent <sup>more than</sup> Immaculee Conception), indicative of the particular emphasis placed on the elevation of academic standards and language skills in what had been the weakest of Kapuskasing's schools. Both schools are staffed entirely by lay personnel; it is generally the case throughout the <sup>study</sup> area that where the principal is a lay person, no clergy are employed under their direction, but where a cleric holds a principalship lay teachers are of necessity employed to fill out the ranks. Such an arrangement seems to obtain by mutual consent: intolerable role conflicts result when clergy <sup>must</sup> submit to lay discipline, on the one hand, while the lay principal who introduced clergy into the staff would place his own job in





jeopardy. Indeed, a rather bitter conflict of this sort took place at Moonbeam where the clergy made repeated efforts to unseat a lay principal; only the latter's excellent qualification, length of experience and high standing in the community made it possible for him to surmount this challenge.

The principal at Jacques Cartier is a relative newcomer to teaching: the son of the local M.P., this man had made unseccessful attempts at a career in the mill, and later in commerce. Now completing a degree at Laurentian, over the summers, M.H. has found, in the school, workable solutions to his problems of career limitations in an essentially English industrial world, and to his local status dilemma. Closely allied to the town schools in his educational philosophy, M.H. is an ardent advocate of bilingual secondary schooling: "pupils from Grade Eight going to the Académie will have more personal contact with their teachers; at the high school they may feel insecure with an English counsellor. The pupil who goes to an English school after Grade Eight would lose his French - he couldn't write a letter in French, for example, because the students drop special French in order to keep their average up." In general, this principal was also anxious to improve liaison with the high school, and had asked the principal there to forward a report on the performance of graduates from the Val Albert school.

The school building itself is clean and well equipped. In observing a number of classes, and on repeated visits to the



school, discipline appeared excellent. Staff are 'uniformed' (a grey jacket for the male teachers), and the order, brightness and attractive decoration of classrooms, characteristic of the separate schools, were everywhere in evidence.

Classes in English and science were observed. The work in English was well done, with maximum participation, and seemed appropriate to the grade level; although it was entirely oral. Instruction in science was carried out in English, but students were unable to ask or answer questions in English despite reprimands from the teacher. The names of even the simplest materials such as "salt" had to be translated as the class proceeded. What was quite evident, here, too, were those problems arising out of the absence of a streaming system or of opportunity classes within the separate schools. Where centralization of the public school permits these 'luxuries' the overpopulation of numerous local schools within the bilingual system necessitates the "carrying" of a number of non-participant age promoted students in each of the senior grades. Although the separate school system is now considerably larger than that of the public school (see table B ), the pattern and pressures of growth have made for less, rather than more, diversity in the handling of slow or apt students. This problem is the more critical in view of the social background of the school population in the improvement districts.

The parish priest, Msgr. ———, is known locally as an extremely conservative cleric, who made every effort to give





the researchers a glowing picture of inter-ethnic relations; he subsequently boasted to a supposed confidant, <sup>however,</sup> that there were real conflicts in Kapuskasing, but that he would not be one to "lower" the position of the French by reporting them! The Msgr. was indicated by other informants as one of those who had exercised the strongest sanctions against users of the public schools. Both the Msgr. and the principal at Jacques Cartier were named as members of the Order of Jacques Cartier, together with the parish priests at Immaculée Conception. Authenticity of these reports is unchecked.

At Jeanne-Mance school, the new principal is a recent graduate of the Collège de Hearst, where he obtained a degree from Laurentian University; an elementary school principalship is among the most attractive of a very limited number of local work opportunities for such graduates. M.B. reported that he directs those of his students who wish a "classical" (Arts and Sciences) education to the Hearst "Collège", but that the majority, who wish some form of technical education, are directed to the high school. Like his counterpart in Val Albert, M.B. feels that the high school affords a difficult milieu for graduates from the bilingual schools, ("the teacher at the high school is too much like a university professor,") and strongly supports the establishment of bilingual Grades Nine and Ten.

Newly elected as president of the local branch of the Association Enseignants Franco-Ontarien, (Unite Pedagogique de Kapuskasing), M.B. confided that he was personally more interested





in preserving French language and culture than in preparing students for secondary school work. Such an emphasis should not suggest, however, that this principal is not deeply concerned, as well, about academic proficiency, or that he is not taking effective measures to improve Brunetville's poor scholastic record. In addition, M.B. is well informed about secondary school curricula in Ontario, and has attempted, with the API, to educate local parents in course selection.

M.B. is less optimistic than the Val Albert principal about his students' abilities in English language. Where the latter had argued that his pupils were as competent, generally, as the graduates of the English schools, M.B. was keenly aware of those difficulties to be encountered by the majority of his students who would subsequently make use of the occupational, trades and commercial programmes.(f)

In both Brunetville and Val Albert these principals have recently replaced earlier appointees who are now retained as teachers in the senior grades, a shift necessitated by new departmental rulings to the effect that a principal must hold, or must be working toward, a university degree. In each case, too, the newer appointment has had the effect of reversing, in some measure, the drift away from communication and cooperation with the high school. Where under the earlier principals enrollment forms from the high school, (for Grade Eight students), were not returned, or invitations for student visits were ignored, a new spirit of cooperation is evident. Moreover, this is not at all



inconsistent with the emphasis on bilingual secondary schooling which is highly selective: the bilingual school administrators are well aware that there is no possibility of accommodating their increasing output within private institutions. More and more there is an effort to skim off those of the upper academic layers, who are directed into bilingual arts and sciences studies, while a real effort is made, simultaneously to aid the successful flow of marginal and transfer students to the public schools. In part this may be a conscious effort to strengthen the French community by building a French and Catholic élite, but in part it doubtless reflects that lingering prejudice against technical and commercial courses - even the five year streams - which is shared by the English community.

Brunetville's Jeanne Mance is the most modern and attractive of all Kapuskasing's elementary school buildings, with an excellent gymnasium and "Jardin des Enfants". Here, as elsewhere in the separate school system, one may observe a great deal of attention given to younger students in terms of deportment and dress, as contrasted with the less paternalistic, or maternalistic, attitude of public school staff.

In general, it would appear that Jacques Cartier and Jeanne Mance offer excellent physical facilities, as well as standards of instruction which increasingly approximate those of the town schools. If the results are in large measure less satisfactory, then a good deal of the differences, as over against town schools, must be explained primarily in terms of the



disadvantaged socio-economic character of these areas.

"Kapuskasing is English; the little villages are French." With this simple distinction, a nun from the staff of St Jules school at Moonbeam pointed to the whole range of ecological factors which have historically differentiated the northern communities. Linguistically, economically and institutionally the small villages still stand somewhat apart from the larger mill town, despite the pull of work opportunity or commerce, and the increasing role of the mill town as a communications centre. Education does not appear problematic, as yet, for the residents of Moonbeam or Fauquier. There is virtually no contact with the larger system of public schools, hence no strain or friction is involved. Educators and parents are not troubled or threatened by the implications of the Robarts plan because they are simply not aware of such changes. Residents do not feel "dominated" by the English, nor is there any local tension; there are no English families. What need to Emphasize "Parlez Francais" when no one can speak English?

"Les parents - plupart - ne comprennent pas un seul mot d'Anglais," asserted one of the teachers at Moonbeam. The same is true of of any of the smaller towns which punctuate the highway.

Like Fauquier, some twelve miles to the East, Moonbeam is a comparatively stable community of bushworkers and marginal farmers, which supports a small number of family commercial enterprises and a small élite of teachers, doctor and priest.





Where Moonbeam has had the additional support of tourist and cottage trade for Remi Lake, with its Lodge, Provincial Park and well-developed range of cottages, at only three miles' distance, Fauquier, until recently, was the site of a Spruce Falls owned sawmill operation. Originally built to comply with government regulations on timber usage, the mill, which had employed several hundred persons, was shut down several years ago: although residents reported short term economic difficulties at the time of closing, pulp operations absorbed the majority of the workers, and no major relocation of population has taken place.

Both Fauquier and Moonbeam are as much "parish" as "municipal" social units: church, school and parish hall are the centres for virtually all forms of local association, formal or informal. All residents make regular visits to Kapuskasing, to Cochrane or to other centres, for shopping, amusement or hospital and welfare services, but the unions and professional associations are the sole loose bonds which unite town and rural French in collective action. The network of kinship binds individuals throughout the area, of course; few families do not have some relatives within Kapuskasing itself. Nevertheless, the rural villages do retain a considerable measure of social aloofness and institutional independence. In education, this is very much the situation. The rural bilingual schools are not competitive in recruitment prior to Grades Nine and Ten; they function with a marked absence of that self consciousness over language, and goals of character formation, which are so evident



in their town counterparts. Nor is there any apparent <sup>public</sup> recognition of, or concern with, the problem of graduate placement.

At Moonbeam, modern classrooms have been rather awkwardly grafted upon an older school building, providing adequate teaching areas, but necessitating quite unsatisfactory use of basement space for lunchroom, or assembly. There is no gymnasium and accordingly little tradition of formal physical education.

Perhaps the most unusual feature of St Jules has been the quality of its senior staff. The present principal came to Moonbeam as a graduate of the University of Ottawa in 1935. During the thirty years in which he has been with St Jules, M.C. has successfully undertaken further professional training at technical schools and at the Ontario College of Education in Toronto. A quietly impressive man with enormous local influence, M.C. has an unusual intimacy and rapport with the families he serves. This personal prestige is important in understanding the way St Jules has developed. First, although M.C. is a devout Catholic who maintains a good relationship with the parish priests, gives emphasis to religious instruction and encourages the development of "vocations", he has resisted the attempts of the teaching orders to dominate St Jules. At no other school within the study area were clergy employed under lay supervision. At Fauquier, by contrast, the principal is the Sister Superior of the adjacent convent; and although a majority of lay teachers are employed, there is little doubt that the school has, in effect, been turned over by the local board to be operated by





the order. Secondly, M.C. <sup>has been</sup> able to build a comparatively effective system of work placement, and a network of inter-personal contacts through which graduates <sup>have been</sup> ~~were~~ channeled into various forms of vocational training. Before short term technical or commercial education was made available at Kapuskasing, this principal had developed "manual training" shops and "household economics" classes in his school. M.C. had established liaison, as well, with a number of secretarial, hairdressing and nursing schools, in Ottawa and other centres, to which local students were regularly forwarded. In tracing the records of past students, the researchers checked verbally with the principal on the location of a very large number of students. M.C. was thoroughly familiar with each case; he knew the family involved and the present occupation of each student. In a large number of instances, this principal had been instrumental in securing work or training for the student.

Finally, M.C. has promoted the use of the public high school to a degree that was nowhere encountered <sup>elsewhere,</sup> <sub>^</sub> among the clerically dominated schools. ( )

Although there is extremely infrequent contact with the Kapuskasing high school - teachers and guidance personnel there did not even recognize this principal by name - M.C. - has viewed the expansion of technical and commercial facilities there as a further solution to his basic problem of building career routes out of the school, within an isolated community which offers extremely limited work opportunities to a large population.





Of course, a number of students are still sent to the bilingual secondary schools. "If a student is not too good in English we recommend a private school: the adjustment is geared to competence at Grade Twelve in English language," the principal noted. It was the belief of another teacher that Convent and College offered "meilleure conditions pour étudier," although he admitted that, in the majority of cases, he advised students to attend the Kapuskasing high school. The bilingual Grades Nine and Ten at Moonbeam accommodate two types of student: those whom the staff regard (not/as) yet adequately prepared to cope with high school instruction, in English, and those who are considered unlikely to continue beyond Grade Ten in any case. While sympathetic, then, to the private Catholic schools, M.C. does not see the high school as competitive.

"In 1962 we had three students (from St Jules) in the high school, in 1964-5 we have thirty-two; next year we hope to have forty-five. The new technical programme is holding the children in school; the youngsters are seeking technical and commercial training. The students in commercial and technical have an adjustment problem, but by Grade Twelve they are able to compete. A student can handle the transition to English language instruction if he has the will to study."

Instruction in English, the more difficult where there is little opportunity for conversation outside the school has been given considerable emphasis: "A few years ago a group from Lac St Jean came here all at once, they were members of Quebec



farmers' movements and they didn't want their children to learn English," reported M.C. -, noting that he had in time convinced the group of the value of English language instruction. Both the principal, and his senior aide,<sup>^</sup> a graduate of the University of Montreal who joined St Jules in 1938, have emphasized the impact of English language television upon improved familiarity with English: "Maintenant les parents regardent T.V. Francaise, mais les enfants regardent encore T.V. Anglaise."

Students at St Jules are encouraged to speak English.

It should not be thought that these teachers at St Jules are basically different in orientation from the town school functionaries: it is a matter of re-enterpreting goals in a very different setting. In the rural setting "assimilation" does not appear as a threat, whereas the problems of finding work, or of equipping large numbers of students to move out of the community are very real indeed. Both town and rural teachers recognize the necessity of English language ability - at no time during the fourteen months of field work was this ever questioned by the teachers, or by any other group. Where the emphasis in the town community, however, falls upon resisting<sup>or limiting</sup> strong existing anglicizing influences, which include the public schools, rural preoccupation is with problems of mobility and occupational selection in terms of which increased facility in English and the use of diversified educational facilities are problem-solving rather than threatening.

The nuns at Moonbeam are less concerned with the hard facts of preparation for work, and seem to know relatively little about the industrial and commercial world. One nun, an executive of the local A.P.I., who has taught in Moonbeam for more than





thirteen years was asked whether the French or English held better jobs; her reply : "A Moonbeam, Francaises; Kapuskasing - je ne connais pas la ville." It was the belief of this teacher that those who wished to remain at Moonbeam would not need a great deal of education: "Ici, Noonbeam, ils n'ont pas besoin d'instruction; celiu instruit devra partir!" Moreover, this nun emphasized much more strongly than her secular colleagues the importance of religion and language at secondary level, on which basis she preferred to direct students to the Académie, following completion of Grade Ten at Moonbeam: "Il devrait finir ici avant d'aller ailleurs; pas un d'ici a fini son cours a l'école secondaire publique.....celles qui sont allés a une école secondaire bilingue out reussi". This informant gave no indication of awareness that diversity of type and level of education were also at stake in the process of selection; she was unable, when asked, to give any information on the nature or content of the Robarts Plan. All the nuns in the schools within the study district were of the same order - Les Soeurs Grises de la Croix - and the existence of a vested interest in the success of their Académie, at Kapuskasing, undoubtedly underscored the strength of clerical bias in regard to secondary school selection.

The principal at Fauquier, formerly of the staff of the Académie, was quite familiar with the structure of the diversified programme offered at Kapuskasing, but was of the impression that "the more intelligent students take the Academic programme."





atmosphère trop française pour l'élève Français; il manque de conversation Anglaise peut-être." Several of the teachers felt that students should be urged to attend a secondary school rather than to remain in Fauquier for Grades Nine and Ten. As one lay teacher argued, "trop laisse après la dix; s'ils avarient commence à une autre école ils continueraient. .... le neuf et dix à l'école séparée n'arrive pas avec l'école secondaire. Je ne vois pas un seul avantage d'offrir les cours de neuf et dix dans les cadres de l'école séparée."

These views were not shared, however, by the Sister Principal, who protested that "plus d'élèves continuent," for reasons of "finance". For this nun, the choice was clearly between a private Catholic school, which few families could afford, and the grant-aided bilingual elementary school; sister suggested, as well, that her pupils were "afraid" of the public school, and that they would face language difficulty. "The students from the little villages don't speak English at all."

There was as little awareness generally of the changes in Ontario's secondary school programme at Fauquier as at the other bilingual schools. Sister Principal told the interviewer that the Roberts Plan involved a five-year academic programme and a two-year terminal course. ( ) Sister is currently teaching Grade Ten.

(f) This, of course, was the programme superseded by the new diversified structure.



Ste Jeanne D'Arc was exceptional, in the eyes of the researchers, in two ways: first, the quality of discipline and student deportment was superior to that observed in any other school (several high school teachers remarked on this characteristic of the graduates from Fauquier); secondly, the school records were more inadequate and incomplete than those encountered elsewhere. Ontario School Record cards were improperly completed, if they were filled out at all, and many were displaced or missing. What was noticeable here, as at the Academie d'Youville, was that the sisters placed little emphasis on records, which were inconsistently completed and forwarded.

The school at Strickland is the smallest of all those in the study area, consisting of but three active classrooms. While the building itself is relatively new, bright and attractive, a declining enrollment and the necessity of multiple grade classrooms threaten its continued existence. Observers in Smooth Rock Falls maintained that students from this school had long been acutely disadvantaged in terms of language skills: one French-speaking secondary school teacher, who confirmed this observation, went further in attributing this local problem to the domination of the parish priest whom he described as a "fanatic".

Actually L'Ecole St Donat is changing rapidly under the guidance of a new lay principal from Moonbeam. Mme. S. is the first new staff member to join St Donat in five years, yet



her influence has already been felt in the community. Quebec born, but raised in Moonbeam, Mme S. has returned to teaching at a time when her own children are now finished school; her orientation to education, however, is now largely coloured by experiences with her own family:

"I sent my daughter to the Académie, but I withdrew her because the nuns favour children who are gifted or have wealthy parents. The nuns fill the heads of their students with ideas about the high school, saying that students there have no discipline and that they do what they want. I was going to send my son to the high school, but the priest threatened me with excommunication, so I sent him to Ottawa. When he went to the mill, later, for a job, they asked him 'did you go to the Académie or Hearst?', When he said 'no', they said 'You're just the kind of boy we're looking for!' I don't agree with this Grade Nine and Ten (in Moonbeam) ..... the high schools do a good job. In Grade Nine and Ten (in the separate school) there are only two teachers; they lack the facilities, and their graduates fail everywhere. It's the nuns and priests who push for Grades Nine and Ten - just a small group - because they're afraid the students will lose their religion."

Mme S. directs all her Grade Eight pupils to the high school at nearby Smooth Rock Falls. Aware that language difficulties alone have created almost insurmountable barriers for many students in the past, she has introduced a very much accelerated





programme of instruction in English through Grades Seven and Eight, meeting opposition from the priest described earlier. "The priest here is a fanatic," she reported, "everything must be French. He critized me in the parish for teaching too much English, so I said to the class, well there's one way to correct that - teach more!"

Strickland's situation underscores one of the persistent problems of the rural bilingual schools. The community has no industry, and only two stores; resident are marginal farmers and mill workers from Smooth Rock, representative of the lowest socio-economic strata in the French community. Where structural problems of linguistic and academic continuity compound these problems in the home, students are steered through the school system with a staggering casualty rate.

Perched on the crest of a hill, beside the parish church, L'Ecole Ste Gertrude dominates the town of Smooth Rock Falls physically, much as the force of clerical opinion continues to rule over the French community. Ecologically, socially, economically and politically, Smooth Rock is a caricature of its larger counterpart, Kapuskasing. Here, almost frozen in an earlier stage of growth, are patterns now blurred in Kapuskasing's past. A small English dominated, largely mill-owned town sits ringed by French inhabited shack towns; Val Albert or Unionville, Brunetville or Cloutierville, the names differ but they are of the same species.



As yet, Smooth Rock has not thrown up a "bourgeoisie" or influential French middle class; it is possible to single out a few commercially successful families whose sons have trained for law, the priesthood, or teaching, but these are far from forming a cohesive and conscious group capable of political action. Within the mill, there has been a great deal of opportunity for the advance of French labour on the one hand, while the English speaking community has been small, and has long included important elements of other ethnic groups, so that one seldom hears talk, here, of "discrimination" in work opportunity. As yet, however, no French speaking persons are numbered among the managerial or professional ranks. The town is small; recreational and commercial facilities are limited in number, and continue to be shared rather than developed along ethnic lines, as is the case in Kapuskasing, (although the stores and hotels of adjacent Unionville are patronized almost exclusively by the French). While generally excellent relations thus prevail in industry and recreation, the issue of the schools is, however, clouded with mistrust and bitterness.

"Some Protestants here are fanatic," commented the Sister Principal of Ste Gertrude, "they think we are not as bright as they are, and so on, ... but they are in the minority." Sister Principal asserted, as well, that secondary education in Smooth Rock was dominated by the English, a view re-enforced by the attitude of her parish priest: "English Protestants control the high school: our French students have no success, because of language, and because of the attitude of the teachers who



who are more like lecturers. The pupils need more moral training before mixing with older students." Father expressed, as well, the view that education was the major conflict area: "There's no job prejudice here," he remarked of the mill, and added that "the French are apathetic in municipal affairs .... they prefer to let the English do it." Another French speaking resident made the same point in a different way: "The French are not an energetic people; we leave the big jobs and responsibilities to the English factor."

When Father speaks on educational matters, he overlooks the view of many of his parishioners, who lean pragmatically toward anglicization, but he speaks with <sup>an</sup> assurance of power, based upon the generally submissive character even of those who express verbal discontent, and upon the core of support offered by the Knights of Columbus, school board and teaching staff. As one French teacher described the situation:

"In Smooth Rock its eighty percent the priest who runs the show. That's the old Quebec tradition: he's from Quebec and he believes in the old way. He's dead set against the high school, because of religion." The priest, and the small core of active workers directed by him, are now determined to establish Grades Nine and Ten, a move which would effectively destroy the small local high school. ( )

While the clery rule over the bilingual school rather obviously and forcefully, here, there is reasonable support for





their claim that the high school is similarly dominated by a handful of English Protestants. The French community view the high school as manipulated by the lodges as evidenced by the interpretation of one observer:

"There are invisible hands behind this school. The principal's job is advertised each year (the principal is not formally qualified) but I think it's the freemason movement that's holding him here. It's a strong organization among the English people here; we don't like them because we're Knights of Columbus and we conflict. People here are too shy to take an interest in education; they excuse themselves. There are only two French on the high school board: one man is with a Grade Five education; the other is too shy to open his mouth!"

The High School Board is chaired now by the United Church minister, who preaches a philosophy of "enlightment" for the French, which sounds very much like a plan for assimilation. Like his counterpart in Kapuskasing, this clergyman expressed the view that there was really nothing "wrong" with the French Canadian except that he was French and Catholic. ( )

At Ste Gertrude, growth has been relatively rapid and physical expansion has not kept pace, so that overcrowding is now an acute problem. Turnover and enlargement of staff have also been a source of difficulties: the present staff totals only thirteen, but in the last three academic years twelve new teachers have been introduced. Unable to locate, attract or hold qualified staff, the Sisters have, on occasion, lured

( )



housewives and high school students into their classrooms. From all accounts in the community, both French and English parents believe that academic standards are far from the expected level. Moreover, numerous French parents reported conflicts with the school over disciplinary matters. One irate parent threatened that he would remove his son to the public school, when the sisters repeatedly held the boy after school for choir practice, against the father's expressed wishes. Missing the bus, this lad was forced to walk some four miles home, often in temperatures well below zero. Another family reported that their daughter had been ill during the final exams in Grade Seven. When the father visited the school, Sister Principal assured him that all would be well, and urged him to keep the child at home in bed. Subsequently the girl was assigned a mark of zero for the missed exam and was forced to repeat her year despite the parent's protests. According to these parents, the nuns were irked because they had earlier asked if this girl, a good student, could be sent to the convent at Moonbeam. The family had refused. Another bright youngster in the Second Grade received a final average of 71.20, with generally superior marks in each subject. In Francais (Orthographe), however, the lad had achieved a final mark of forty-one, on the basis of which he was refused promotion. When the parents protested and threatened to move the child to the public school, the Sisters agreed to a promotion. Following enrollment the next year, the boy was moved back to the second grade; again the parents claim that promotion refusal was used as a sanction against them because their attitudes had offended the clergy.



No community lacks a number of these smaller issues between parents and schools, but reports of this sort of conflict were so widespread and so often repeated as to argue strongly for the existence of a thoroughly authoritarian, even arbitrary administration of the school.

Neither the priest nor the principal proved any more reliable in their relationship with the researchers than they were alleged to have been in dealing with the parishioners. The priest gave the strongest verbal assurance that he "knew nothing" of any plan to establish Grades Nine and Ten, and that no steps had actually been taken. Within the same day, the school board chairman, unaware that the priest had been interviewed, revealed that he had been, with the priest, to see the mill manager on the previous day to arrange for the purchase of land for a new building to house the senior grades. Sister Principal offered cooperation with the study but repeatedly failed to follow through with promised information or help. When the standardized testing was introduced the Sister promised to participate fully. Although she had boasted that "Our students write English better than English students - they become perfect bilingual students," it was evident from all reports, from students, parents and high school teachers, that very little English was being given. Tests were never administered, and immediately following the end of term a brief note from the school secretary lamented that "Notre Superieure et directrice de l'école Sainte Gertrude vient de découvrir un grave oubli!"





It is evident from the preceding sketches that the bilingual schools vary considerably, within a common framework and orientation, in terms of goals, communication with other educational institutions, and quality of teaching facilities and personnel. Such differences reflect the divergent structures of the communities which create and contain them.



### A Brief Look at English Schools:

Like the adjoining church which bears the same name, St Patricks separate school was born out of the conflict of French and English Catholics. Soon after the formation of Kapuskasing's first separate school, special English classes were established. Initially, this move may have eased earlier tensions between public and separate school populations, as described in the following passage from the memoirs of a local editor whose family came to the community from Quebec in the 1920's.

"Most of my schooling was done by nuns. The poor things! I often wonder how they ever stood such a bunch of ruffians. Things got especially bad a little later when war broke out between us French and the "English". In those days, anyone attending the public school, to us, was the enemy. And believe me, this was serious business even to kids our age. Many a bloody nose and torn trouser resulted from these pitched battles. .... And it's funny how this little war of our own died down without anyone knowing just whey. Perhaps it was the fact that a few years after we began school Irish Catholics were using our school, and I guess because they were Catholics we made friends with them.

From there to ignoring the English was just a short step." The phrase "ignoring the English" is particularly revealing of the way in which rivalry and animosity have receded, as isolation of the French and English schools has become ever more complete. For a number of years, English classes continued within Immaculée Conception, and later, at Sacré Coeur, but there was little communion beyond the sharing of a building. A number of the present staff of St Patricks recalled their earlier experiences



"Things have changed a lot. English Catholics were poachers at one time; now we have our own church and school. We were tenants before, but now we have our own rights. The lines between French and English are not as sharp as before. When we were in separate school together, before we had St. Patricks, the French and English pupils always fought - snowballs, rocks and so on; it was a way of life. The French spoke English and none of the English ever learned to speak French." These were the comments of a young teacher who had been a pupil in the English section at Sacré Coeur. Clearly, the easment of hostilities in an earlier decade, described by the French student, had been far from complete.

"When I taught at the French school, we had separate identities; the students did not mix. There were seven rooms in the English section, five in Sacré Coeur and two in the Annex; we were under an English principal. The English language classes were mixed - boys and girls. We had a little hostility between French and English students over at Sacré Coeur, so we staggered noon hours and recesses. There were fights on the way home, for example. We were so crowded at Sacré Coeur; we needed a new building. There's been no trouble since separation." This teacher reported that she had never established close relationships with any French speaking families, and that she intended to move to the South when her husband was retired from the mill.





In discussing the problems of educational and work opportunity for the local French-speaking population, the same respondent was somewhat less than sympathetic: "The French should become a part of the larger English-speaking community, but I don't think they will. The French don't have the same initiative as Germans and Slovacs. The French were enjoying themselves and letting things slide." Such views were not typical of the staff at St Patricks, however. Most of the younger teachers were generally more sympathetic to the language and economic difficulties of the local French population than the public school teachers. To a large extent, this was true of the English Catholics as a group. Where the separate English Catholic institutions originated in disputes with the French, relative independence, and success, now permit a shift of emphasis. In addition, the present principal of St Patricks had a (European) French-speaking father; the teaching staff includes four members who had previously taught in bilingual schools and two others who were educated in Kapuskasing's bilingual system: the student body contains a large number of children from homes where one parent speaks French; the parish priest is a French Canadian, and St Patricks Church is over-crowded each Sunday with the addition of numerous "French" families who are personally attracted to the liberal priest or who prefer the style and content of his English sermons. The omnipresence of kinship and historical ties with the French community strengthens a sense of "understanding" which persists in the face of past disputes and of



continuing tension over educational matters. At times the attitude of the English Catholic may almost be paternalistic with regard to the French .

Today, St Patricks is generally regarded as an exceptionally fine school; even those informants who disparaged the whole separate school system most often qualified their remarks in terms of this school. Existing physical facilities are excellent, and a further addition of eight classrooms is currently under construction. St Patricks has a young staff headed by a young and very energetic principal. An active Parent-Teacher Association is headed by one of the senior teachers at the Kapuskasing High School. According to the Chairman of the High School Board, St Patricks graduates are among the most academically successful groups at the high school, an observation borne out by the analysis of school records presented in Section IV. In the area of athletics, as well, St Patricks has established a stronger reputation than any of the other elementary schools.

The insecurity of the English Catholic academic position, prior to separation from the bilingual school, has been gradually displaced by the growth of confidence throughout the community. "When the new building went up, we attracted some students formerly at the public school. Previously our standards were poorer than at the public school, but they've improved over the last eight years. Now, St Patricks standards are good compared with the public school," one teacher noted, adding that "the



older families didn't like to send children to St Patricks once they were well satisfied with the public school,"

Today, however, everything about "St Pats" suggests the relative wealth, confidence and newly found identity of the English Catholics.

There is little doubt that the character of St Patricks has been moulded, not so much by the Board - who are inclined to delegate the operation of the school, unofficially, to the English Catholics themselves, but by the principal, the parish priest, and to a lesser extent the P.T.A. heads. Of the priest's influence, one teacher commented, "When he says 'jump', they jump!" Thus, the only formal mechanism for bringing French and English schools under a unified surveillance functions in such a way as to provide maximum independence. Only long range financing and policy require informal agreement between French and English Catholics; in academic, disciplinary and day-to-day operational matters the English and bilingual schools are largely autonomous and dissimilar. Further, the teaching staff at St Patricks have little formal or informal association with bilingual teachers. English and French language teachers' associations meet separately, tending to strengthen the rapport of St Patricks with the Public School (these schools meet occasionally in athletic events), and to further isolate the group of bilingual teachers. ( )

( )





Three public schools are located within the study area: Diamond Jubilee and Eastview in Kapuskasing, and the T.S.A. of Kendrey Public School at Smooth Rock Falls. While there are important areas of difference among these schools, there are many ways in which it becomes convenient to discuss them as a group.

Diamond Jubilee is the largest school in the district; the original building of the jubilee year (1927) was later expanded and improved until, in 1960, pressure of growth, particularly in the Eastview subdivision area, made it convenient to open the school bearing that name. Housing grades one to five, under the principalship of a former teacher from Diamond Jubilee, the new school is little more than a physical extension of the parent structure. Both schools remain under the firm control of the "supervising principal" who has been the dominant local figure in English language education for more than thirty-five years. The school at Smooth Rock is but an annex to the Continuation School, with five rooms housing combined grades up to eight.

From the name of the school to the Union Jacks or pictures of Queen Elizabeth in the classrooms, to the plaid jacket of the principal, Diamond Jubilee symbolizes all that is British - or Scottish - in Kapuskasing. If, as one public school principal argued, the northern bourgeoisie are "not French - they're playing at being French," then the English-speaking community also emphasizes its identity by playing hard, in some quarters, at being "British" or "Scottish."



Principals at both Kapuskasing and Smooth Rock are of mixed English-Scottish descent; a fact which each expresses symbolically to the community and which is an important part of his public role. The sight of a teacher, moustaches bristling with frost, over a pipe, while he parades his dog with military briskness through the sub-zero haze, or the blaze of a tartan through the smoke of the legion hall reassures the English parent, and suggests that his children are in a "safe" and familiar setting. The fiction of a semi-rural Southern Ontario Protestant identity is perpetuated in the same way that the colonial is said to become "more British than the British."

If the public schools are overtly and consciously "English" institutions, they are also a strong force for Anglicization and assimilation, and are used or avoided for this reason. The expressed attitudes of the public school teachers bear this out:

"I don't know whether the underlying aims of the English community are to assimilate the French, but I think they are in our own school system. The French child has a better chance of maintaining his identity in a bilingual school."

"There is planned assimilation in the placement of a French child in the public school."

"I sympathize with their desire to retain language and culture, but the French must become part of the larger English-speaking community. The children are finding out



that to get a job they must speak English; ultimately they become less concerned about their identity as French. I would hope that education would play a great role in this, but I don't see much evidence of it; presently, it's a force against assimilation. I was appalled and sorry to see the two school systems when I came here." (The speaker, a principal, came from England to this country.)

"If I were French I'd put my child in the public school - I'd make an Englishman out of my Frenchman. The (French) people next door are our best friends - they're not Catholics - they speak English and their children are at the public school; they are becoming English. Just as the Catholic religion is mellowing, the French will blend in here. They've changed a lot in the last twenty years."

"I would hope that the French would come into the larger English-speaking group. It would be desirable to bring the French child to the public school; the other ethnics move right ahead once they pick up the language, but not the French - you hand them a book and they can hardly read it. The church has a lot to do - tries to keep the people in a separate group. In Kap, if the town as a whole had put public schools in outlying areas, then the French would send their children to the public schools." ( )

( ) This hypothesis was tested in a questionnaire random sample of Kapuskasing parents. French parents were asked whether they would prefer public schools if the latter were closer than the bilingual schools; the suggestion was overwhelmingly rejected.





Like the high school staff, the public school teachers are, in the majority, from the south; they remain more or less marginally involved transients in the community, planning to return to the south. "I wouldn't stay here for a lifetime; not unless I couldn't help it.....Everyone (here) likes to know southern Ontario, and visit there, and feel that they could move there readily," one principal commented. "I plan to stay here for some time - we've built a house here - but I wouldn't think of staying here. I'll return to my family's farm," another teacher reported. Another volunteered this comment: "I'll stay for a while, but I'm amazed at the number of people who have been here for years and who don't really plan to stay!" The public school staff are very much "of the South," and in Kapuskasing they represent that kind of "solid English background" in which many of the Kapuskasing parents would wish to raise their children. A transitory allegiance to the northern community does not conflict with their role as teacher: it is part of it.

Centralization of facilities for a very large number of students has permitted the public schools to offer an excellent diversity in programming and to recruit specialized teaching skills. Art, French language and music are offered by special personnel on rotary; junior and senior "opportunity classes" collect slow learners for special individual and remedial work prior to age transfer to the occupational programme in the district high school.



In Kapuskasing, salaries are high, facilities are excellent, if not entirely modern, and the result has been the build up of a very well qualified and generally experienced staff. Yet, the available evidence suggests that professional competency is not the only selective factor which has been operative in the recruitment of the present staff. The distribution of public school teachers by religious affiliation reflects, almost exactly, the prestige ranking of Christian denominations within the English community. If all full and part time staff at Diamond Jubilee and Eastview are included, the distribution by religion is as follows:

United Church	22
Anglican	6
Baptist	2
Presbyterian	2
Jehovah's Witness	1
Roman Catholic	1
	<hr/>
Total	34

Of those affiliated with the United Church, which was described by one public school teacher as the "dominant status religion," a substantial number of teachers were members of the Masonic, Eastern Star or other Lodges. The single Roman Catholic teacher is a recently employed graduate of Diamond Jubilee, where he was transferred from the bilingual school in the seventh grade; he teaches oral French on rotation. Among those who indicated affiliation with the Protestant



Churches was one teacher of Slavic descent, who joined the staff in mid term, transferring from a position with the public school at Smooth Rock. )

"I know that girl's a Catholic, but, never mind the Human Rights Code, you and I know there are lots of places where a Catholic just couldn't get a job," asserted her former employer at Smooth Rock Falls. The girl in question had taught, at one time, in a Roman Catholic School in Toronto.

At one of the Public School Board meetings, the matter of teacher recruitment occupied considerable time. Letters from applicants were read by the supervising principal, who reported on the results of telephone enquiries to Inspectors and prior employers; subsequently, Board members were asked whether they would like to "see the letters," which were circulated about the table. Across the top of each letter, the religious denomination of the applicant had been added, by hand. It is almost certain that the Kapuskasing public school staff are not a representative sampling of the population of qualified and available elementary school teachers.

Ethnicity, as well as religion, seems to be a determining factor in acquiring a teaching position at Kapuskasing: of thirty-four staff members, thirty-one, bearing English or Scottish surnames, listed English as the mother tongue of both their parents. The majority of these came from rural





areas in Southern Ontario. Of the three whose background is not wholly English, one is the French Catholic teacher, another is the Catholic-turned-Protestant Slovak from Smooth Rock, and the third, from Timmins, indicated that her Canadian born mother had spoken Finnish as well as English.

In general, <sup>earlier</sup> evidence that the lodge-dominated schools had been kept wholly British and Protestant, with conscious effort, <sup>( )</sup> was supported by this picture of teacher recruitment. Of course, the suggestion of selective bias must be qualified by the absence of any adequate picture of the overall population of Ontario teachers in terms of the relevant variables. What is more important, however, than typicality, or the lack of it, is the strongly Protestant and English background of the staff, which can be readily observed.

While there is no suggestion here that any staff might be expected to match the distribution by religion and ethnicity of the population <sup>at</sup> school users, it is interesting to note that the present staff composition cannot be explained in this way. If the school is English and Protestant, in the outlook of the teachers, it is not because this reflects, in any way, the parent and student populations. A comparison of tables and will show that more than twenty per cent of the public school student population are Roman Catholic, and that a sizeable proportion of this group, as of the Protestant community, is not of English-speaking descent.



At Smooth Rock Falls, the selection of staff seems to parallel the trend suggested above: of the five teachers employed there, four were Protestants of totally English-speaking background. No information was available for the remaining teacher. Again, this distribution did not reflect the character of the student population, of whom thirty-three per cent were Roman Catholics.

Table C gives the distribution of Kapuskasing's Catholic public school student population, by ethnicity and by occupation of father; what the figures suggest is precisely what the researchers were repeatedly told in interviews, that the largest group of Catholic public school users were members of ethnic groups other than French or English. The principal at Diamond Jubilee had asserted: "We have a substantial Polish Catholic group in the public school - the parents are not used to the separate school system. The French students are those who were not doing well at the separate school and were transferred." "Polish" is a term used in Kapuskasing to designate Slavs, Poles, or Eastern Europeans in much the same way that "Irish" denotes any English-speaking Catholic. Teachers were asked whether the children from these other ethnic groups were attempting to learn both French and English, in many cases in addition to another mother tongue. Almost invariable, staff members reported that this group was learning English primarily or even exclusively.



DISTRIBUTION OF CATHOLIC STUDENTS IN THE PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS  
(KAPUSKASING ONLY) BY ETHNICITY\* AND OCCUPATION OF PARENTS -

L - labour  
T - trade  
P - profession

(TABLE C)

SCHOOL	FRENCH			ENGLISH			OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS			ALL ETHNIC GROUPS		
	L	T	P	L	T	P	L	T	P	L	T	P
Eastview Public School	7	6	1	6	5	6	12	15	0	25	26	7
Diamond Jubilee School	25	16	2	15	16	5	38	7	0	78	40	7
TOTAL -	32	23	3	21	21	11	50	22	0	103	66	14
	TOTAL FRENCH 58			TOTAL ENGLISH 53			TOTAL ETHNIC GROUPS OTHER THAN FRENCH AND ENGLISH 72			ALL ETHNIC GROUPS 183		

\* Based on analysis of surnames only ( Figures for the English group are presumably overestimated by the number of marriages in which the wife is French speaking, with a similar bias in the French group and Other Ethnic; estimation of the overall effect of these biases would depend upon a knowledge of the relative frequency of the various patterns of inter-ethnic marriage.)





The French students in the public schools are a "select" group, coming from families which have resisted clerical pressure in order to anglicize, or perhaps to lighten financial burdens, from French Protestant families, or from religious and ethnic mixed marriages. Alternatively, they may be fugitives from difficulties in the bilingual or English Catholic schools: "The children who are in trouble - academic or disciplinary - are sent over here to the public school, and vice-versa. Some were sent over in grades seven and eight as a better foundation for high school, but that was before, not now," one Kapuskasing principal reported.

"Some French parents send their children to the public schools in seven and eight, to ease the adjustment to the high school," another teacher confirmed. As will be suggested in Section IV, those French students who move into the public school from bilingual institutions face a very complex set of adjustment problems in most instances. These are the more difficult to analyze and of less than general relevance precisely because of the selectivity in transition at this level.

The specialist who handled Kapuskasing's senior "opportunity class," which was predominantly populated by French students, singled out those of French background as especially slow in development, but added: "I couldn't say



whether they'd be slow learners in French. I can't test accurately because of language problems." ( ) In sum, the French population of the public schools is, initially and through recruitment, a select group whose poorer academic performance may be related to a number of family, linguistic or economic problems, or to earlier school experiences.

French language instruction in the public schools of Kapuskasing has had an uneven and contentious history: today it is little more than a minimal and shallow gesture demanded by the cooperative image of the "model town." Long opposed by the lodges, ( ) instruction in French is now offered, but it is exclusively oral, indicative of the social rather than academic or economic value placed upon French language ability by the English community. The teacher of French reported, as did the teachers at the high school, that there had been considerable resistance to the learning of French: "It's a mental block because of the attitude in the home. The students here in grade seven do work comparable to grade four work in English at a bilingual school."

A number of classes were observed at Diamond Jubilee, in which interest was obviously low and inattention high. Participation was variable from class to class, but proved generally weak. In one grade seven class the students went so far as to whisper threats about "throwing out" the teacher.

( )

( )



The success of this French programme is dependent upon one teacher, then, who, although well accepted by other staff, has obviously established little rapport with the students and little enthusiasm for his subject. The oral course consists of group repetition of stock phrases of greeting, comments about the weather in question and answer form, or French songs,<sup>all</sup> given in fifteen minute periods.

By contrast, the English Catholic school offers a programme of oral and written French which is alleged, by the teachers, to bring students to approximately grade ten level at the end of the eighth grade. A series of graded texts, entirely in French, is employed. In the classes observed at this school, the French speaking pupils dominated the oral work; teachers accepted this easy response and made little effort to involve the English speaking students more deeply. At Smooth Rock Falls, no French is taught in the<sup>public</sup> school.

In Kapuskasing, the prescribed course in religious instruction has been dropped by petition, and is no longer offered in either of the public schools. While this is in part a function of the known feelings of the supervising principal, who strongly favours a secular school ( ), the comments of the teachers leave little doubt that this choice is also favoured by an awareness of the competition of the English, and, to a lesser extent, the French Catholic schools, which can be most effectively met by emphasizing the universality of the public school.





A very different situation persists in Smooth Rock Falls, where religion is still taught. "We teach it better than the Sunday School; we have good discipline and they listen! They know it's not nonsense, that this is the teacher who teaches math and other subjects. It's an ideal set up for teaching religion. It's compulsory in our school." Such were the comments of one enthusiastic member of the teaching staff.

The Public School Board at Kapuskasing is composed of five members, four of whom are of Scottish descent, and all of whom are Protestant. At Smooth Rock Falls the Board is also strongly Protestant and English, ~~with the United Church minister recently elected as chairman.~~ In both communities, the board members expressed attitudes on educational problems which were closely akin to those given by their teachers. As in the case of the separate school boards, however, they were somewhat more preoccupied with problems of finance.

Kapuskasing's P.T.A. is a relatively weak organization; thirty or forty members attended infrequent meetings, as opposed to many times that number at St. Patricks, or at the town bilingual schools. The chairman of this group gave blunt expression to her evaluation of local educational problems:



"The French school system is pretty hard on the children; children are not equipped to handle subjects in French and English. They don't learn French properly and they don't learn English either. There's latent discontent in this town. I know it's there: a feeling of discomfort, for example, over small remarks interpreted to be a slur on religion, nationality or language. No wonder there is ill feeling. The French have never been educated to think any other way - raised for several generations in the Quebec backwoods, where the priest calls the shot."

Naively perhaps, but accurately, this informant expressed that attitude of confident ethnocentrism which is at the core of public school thinking in the Kapuskasing district.



### School Boards and Clerics

If the French elite in Kapuskasing have been relatively reluctant to engage in some areas of municipal politics, they have made the separate school board a focus for interest and activity. Board membership includes representatives of the two most successful and prestigious French commercial families, the very active young manager of the Caisse Populaire, <sup>one</sup> mill employee, and a local store owner. Only the latter could not be described as a member of the "new elite". (f) These men are almost exclusively products of the local bilingual elementary schools, or of Quebec schools; several were educated further in private Catholic <sup>institutions -</sup> ~~secondary schools~~. As will be observed in the case of the bilingual school teachers, there is very little first hand experience or knowledge, here, of the public school system.

While school board membership reflects the acute interest of the new bourgeoisie in educational matters, continuing strains in matters of policy underline the difficulties of leadership where long range goals are still uncertain or even ambivalent. In the long run, some board members aim at strengthening the separate schools to provide a secure point of departure to the diversified programme of Kapuskasing's public high school; for others the schools are a French language core, to be extended, by one means or another, to the secondary level. (f)

More pertinent, here, however, is the fact that the board members have virtually no contact, formal or informal, with either

(f) See

(f) For a full discussion of this debate see Section 5





the administrators of teaching staff in other schools, and evidence little awareness of the structure of the educational system as a whole. Three of the five board members admitted that they were not familiar with the Robarts Plan; they were unable to identify even the major branches offered at Kapuskasing, although the programme has been in operation since 1962 and has been thoroughly publicized by the local press and at public meetings. One board member who was anxious to offer Grades Nine and Ten asserted that a student from Grade Ten in the Arts and Sciences would be admitted to "any course" at the high school. Of course, this is not the case.

The chairman has been quoted earlier as remarking "there is no liaison with the high school - there's just no contact"; this observation was supported by the evidence of all other board members. Officially, the high school board seats one member selected by the separate school board, and one appointed by the public school; it might be thought that this would ensure some flow of information. The separate school representative attends high school board meetings but does not, however, sit with the separate school board. As he put it, "I make no effort to keep up on separate school progress; I'm appointed by the separate school board but I'm not necessarily supposed to represent their views .... I haven't discussed the problems of the French students with other members of the board; there would be nothing to be gained. The principal is French, but he might be more a member of the English community than the French." According to the high school board chairman, there was no discussion, during



the 1964/65 board meetings, of the problems of French students.

The preoccupation of all board members has been with problems of short term expansion: the full impact of any internal differences in orientation will be felt only when release of pressures for growth afford leisure for discussion of long range objectives. In the interim, the problems of financing and staffing have been given priority: "building is our biggest problem, the best education at the cheapest price possible," one board member argued. Another<sup>put it</sup> in these terms: "The problem is to save taxes and to build. If we build one big school we save money, but the people might not accept that. I pay taxes each year on my house and my store ... I'm on the board to give good education and to look for ways to save money." New schools and additions have been opened in each recent year, but the pressure upon space continually necessitates postponement of plans to inaugurate opportunity classes, or to engage a guidance specialist, just as it suspends debate over the question of opening Grades Nine and Ten.

Board members were enthusiastic about the new tax redistribution plan, but asserted that the assistance provided was not yet adequate. The caisse populaire manager suggested that "it will work out in two or three years; when the mill rate is equal we'll be O.K. Just now we have an eighty-four dollar per year pupil cost; it's one hundred and four dollars at the public school.

The extent of these problems of growth, and of the financial difficulties implied may be gauged from table B which documents the absolute and percentage student increase in all local elementary schools over the past decade.



GROWTH OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS - (TABLE B)

	<u>55-56</u>	<u>56-57</u>	<u>57-58</u>	<u>58-59</u>	<u>59-60</u>	<u>60-61</u>	<u>61-62</u>	<u>62-63</u>	<u>63-64</u>	<u>64-65</u>
St Patrick's	175	196	240	282	319	360	388	411	417	455
Smooth Rock Falls	152	147	156	147	150	153	147	148	141	158
Eastview	-	-	-	-	-	283**	281	269	254	243
Diamond Jubilee	679	719	725	770	853	644	674	611	641	630
Ste Gertrude	n.a.	n.a.	402	408	407	444	445	453	461	473
Jeanne D'Arc	239	257	309	263	260	273	265	310	327	334
St Jules	312	308	309	323	322	331	362	357	385	389
Jacques Cartier	231	347	340	424	432	484	485	483	535	541
Jeanne Mance	210	275	309	318	339	355	377	389	394	378
Sacré-Coeur	256	217	168	214	301	257	413	319	425	459
Immaculée-C	437	496	450	447	365	341	389	404	411	440
TOTAL	2691*	2962*	3408	3596	3738	4025	4226	4260	4391	4500
% Increase				5.5%	4%	7.7%	5%	8%	3%	4.7%

BILINGUAL SCHOOLS

Total	1685*	1900*	2287	2397	2416	2585	2736	2821	2938	2974
% Increase				5%	1%	7%	6%	3%	4%	1%
St Patrick's										
Total	175	196	240	282	319	360	388	411	417	455
% Increase		12%	23%	18%	13%	13%	8%	6%	1%	9%
Public Schools										
Total	831	866	881	917	1003	1080	1102	1028	1036	1031
% Increase		4%	2%	4%	9.5%	7%	2%	-7%	8%	-5%

\* Not including Ste Gertrude

\*\* Eastview opened in 1960-61 with population drawn from Diamond Jubilee





Attention has been given recently to the upgrading of English language instruction standards, through directives and staff replacement, but the standard of comparison is internal here, and board members generally appear to be well satisfied with the quality of the two town schools. "I'm pleased with the instruction in English, We try to have both languages; we need it here in Ontario. My kids talk better English than I talk!" was the comment of one member.

Several board members betrayed concern over standards in English at the Brunetville school, however, where a principal, recently replaced, was alleged to have been opposed to the teaching of English. A new principal was appointed, and according to one board member, "we told him to check and see if the subjects supposed to be taught in English are taught in English." The same board member, however, was explicit in asserting that " in Grade Eight Maths and Sciences are now all taught in English," whereas all subsequent pupil and teacher interviews, as well as direct classroom observation showed that such class work is still predominantly carried out in French, in most of the Kapuskasing schools.

Teacher recruitment is, of course, a concern parallel with expansion: "It's hard to get good teachers - some go to the public schools now. The salaries (f) are higher there. We advertise all over, in Ottawa, in Quebec, and in all the French papers. By myself, I think we try to get the best we can ... I'm very satisfied." When asked whether the board had ever considered the use of a native English-speaking teacher for language instruction (the Kapuskasing public schools employ a native speaking French teacher



SALARIES - ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

<u>School</u>	<u>Principal's Salary</u>	<u>Mean Salary</u>
St Patrick's	\$ 6,600	\$ 4,950
Smooth Rock Falls Public School	7,950	4,750
Eastview Public School	9,000	5,550
Diamond Jubilee	11,500	6,400
<hr/>		
Ste Gertrude	6,000	4,300
Ste Donat	N.A.	N.A.
Ste Jeanne D'Arc	4,800	3,750
St Jules	9,000	5,400
Jacques Cartier	6,400	4,100
Jeanne Mance	6,200	5,100
Sacre Coeur	6,500	4,100
Immaculee Conception	6,500	4,600

(TABLE D)



on rotation for French language instruction), one member replied: "I can't see any need for English teachers: as long as they are bilingual they're O K." For this respondent, as for the French of Kapuskasing generally, "bilingual" implies an English speaking French person, but never a French speaking English person.

According to one French lawyer in Kapuskasing, the rural schools are "run by farmers who never went to school." While there is exaggeration here, there is also an element of fact. The rural communities have no well developed middle class from which leadership might be expected to emerge in the pattern of Kapuskasing, and their boards are populated in part by interested parents such as the chairman of the Smooth Rock Board, a Quebec born mill hand who terminated his own schooling before the Eighth Grade.

If a perception of the elementary school as part of a larger educational system, and knowledge of that system as it is realized locally, are weakly developed in Kapuskasing, these perspectives are almost non-existent for many rural board members. Repeated emphasis has been placed upon the lack of knowledge of the structure of higher levels of education among the separate school personnel, both elected and salaried. Yet it is this absence of any awareness of the very rapid and extensive sort of change which has transformed all of Ontario's secondary education which leads to unrealistic short-term planning and contributes to the perpetuation of structural barriers to higher education for





the French student. This will be more evident when the problem of Grades Nine and Ten in the separate schools is considered. (f)

Rural boards differ, too, in the extent to which the influence of the church is felt in matters of education. In Kapuskasing, the influence of the priests is indirect, effected largely through face to face contact with board members, through powerful formal associations, such as the Club Richelieu, Knights of Columbus, through the API or, more generally, through the accepted medium of the sermon.

In general, a very close contact between parish priest and principal is maintained, especially where the latter is a cleric, but also in the case of the lay principals. As one lay principal commented, "We must discuss our problems with the priests from the point of view of the welfare of our pupils." Circumventing the board, in one sense, this line of influence is used not only for the regulation of religious instruction, but to press for a continuing 'boycott' of the English language system. The French parish priests, rather than the academic staff, for example, have often entered the schools to press for Catholic secondary selection.

Many of Kapuskasing's new bourgeoisie maintain a very close liaison with the French speaking priest of the English ethnic parish (f), a known liberal, who serves as a mediator with the English Catholic group which has no official representation. There is no English speaking member of the separate school board:



much as Kapuskasing's municipal government is dominated by 'moderate' English who maintain informal access to decision making for the French, the English Catholics are content to have a "French" separate school board in so far as their priest and principal are assured a share in the actual planning. By all accounts, the English have been well served, financially and administratively.

One incident may serve to illustrate this mediating role of the English parish priest. With a new school to be opened in 1964-5, the board aimed at relieving pressure within St Patricks, and within some of the bilingual schools by transferring and centralizing senior grades within the new building. This involved once again the juxtaposition of French and English classes, and had the effect of submerging two English classes within a much larger French student population. Before such a decision was reached, however, the chairman and one other separate school board member called upon St Patrick's priest, to outline the plan and to secure advance "approval". In turn, the priest consulted with the principal to discuss those guarantees which would be required in the new situation. What might have been a tense issue, or even a source of overt conflict between Irish and French was thus effectively handled through a trusted informal mechanism.

This same priest has developed excellent relations with the high school. "Father L -- used to search out Catholic teachers for the high school. He said, 'if you can't beat 'em join 'em!'



He used to ask the Chairman and the Board to hire them", reported the separate school board chairman, who had been a member of this high school board at the time. Both the 'Irish' priest and the separate school board chairman are oriented more to the use of the district high school, and to the easement of channels of flow in that direction. The priests of the French parishes, on the other hand, are suspicious, if not antagonistic with regard to the public high school, and use their influence with board members to press for Grades Nine and Ten, and for a more wholly French identity in general. In this, they have the strong support of the teaching personnel and of some members of the elite, but their bent is checked by the strength of the 'moderate' elite and by the need for support of the English Catholic in educational matters.

In rural areas, the influence of the French clergy is much more direct: the priests in Strickland Smooth Rock Falls exercise a much more immediate control over educational matters consistent with their persisting position as unchallenged leaders in the smaller communities.

What is clear, here, is that as new patterns of French leadership emerge within the northern towns, the influence of the clergy diminishes: such leadership has been evolving rapidly since the war, and continues to develop; ~~and~~ the schools have been one of the first areas of influence to be contested, Lay teachers, while supporting the linguistic and academic goals





which are preeminent for the clergy, are nonetheless anxious to complete for the principalships, monopolized until recently by the teaching orders, and to make their voice heard in the direction of the schools. A (f) sample of elementary bilingual school teachers was questioned about the probable future rôle of the clergy in the schools:

	<u>Clergy</u>	<u>Lay Teachers</u>
no response	-	2
role will increase	2	3
role will decrease	2	14
role will remain the same	2	1

The lay teachers in this area believe, then, that the expansion of the schools will be marked by a further recession of clerical influence. (f) In part this reflects a decline in the proportion of clergy in teaching positions in the face of rapid expansion; in part it reflects the competition of the new middle class with the traditional priestly power, and their interest in the expanding school system as a source of new occupational opportunities.

(f) A sampling of 20% of the teaching staff with each school: interviews ranging in length from one to two hours were carried out in French, outside the school wherever possible.

(f) The same strong belief in the decline of clerical influence in education was expressed by teachers at the English Catholic School (St Patrick's),



As one young teacher put it - "Au debut le clergé était a peu pres le seul homme instruit; de mes jours les professeurs le remplace." According to the teachers themselves, the teaching staff and inspectors are most influential of all in shaping the character of the schools: when asked to name the persons or groups most influential the teachers placed themselves first, the inspector second, the parents and API third, and school boards fourth, followed by the clergy. ( )

#### Talking with the Teachers

The complexion of the Kapuskasing separate schools is heavily dependent upon the character of the teaching staff.

Moreover, what is most obvious in connection with the very role of the teacher is, in this case, precisely the feature under consideration: isolation. The work of the bilingual school teacher involves daily contact with pupils, interaction with other staff and infrequent meetings with parents or board members, but it provides no opportunity for that association with the English-speaking element which is basic to life "au moulin", or in commerce. Teachers are unanimous in reporting that their work gives no occasion for meeting the English community. Few teachers have established close relationship with English-speaking persons outside the school, while others admit that they do not know any of "the English". The bilingual school teachers, taken as a group, are perhaps as far removed from regular contact with the English world as any other segment of the French-speaking community.



In some measure, this isolation is a function not only of the structure and setting of the teacher's work, but of the characteristics of those groups from which the teachers are recruited. ( ) First, of course, there are the clergy, the sisters and brothers, whose life outside the school is largely confined to convent, residence or church. In Kapuskasing, as in the neighbouring towns of Moonbeam, Fauquier and Smooth Rock Falls, residences are located close to the schools. Little time is wasted as the small groups of clerics bustle through their orbit of church, classroom and convent. Of course, they do establish contact with the French community, largely through the network of associations surrounding church and school, but there is almost no possibility for an encounter with the system of public education or les "anglophones". Les Soeurs GriseSde la Croix do recruit in large measure from the Ottawa area, and from northern Quebec, but the order has a policy of placing the sisters in their native community. Many of the nuns teaching in the study area, then, are from the Ontario northland.

A few of the religious will have had experiences of English language summer schools, but such contacts are for purposes of specialized training, at distant centres such as Toronto. They hardly serve to promote any real understanding between various segments of the educational system at the level of the community.

Attitudes of the nuns toward the English and toward the public schools are often expressed in terms of

( ) See Table G





formalae or "slogans" based more on the projection of presumed past grievances or upon the definition of the situation afforded by ~~the local priests~~ <sup>the local priests</sup> ~~members of the clergy~~, than <sup>upon</sup> any first hand knowledge of the present situation.

One may think of a second, and very large group of teachers made up of local girls, graduates of the convents, or the Académie, who have neither the means to pursue higher education, nor any real desire to move outside the familiar north-country. Teaching provides interesting, secure and relatively highly paid posts in which they may mark time before marriage, and to which they may later return. Most of these teachers have been educated entirely in the bilingual school system, and it is not surprising, therefore, that they should have a more limited experience of association with the English group, and little knowledge of the public school system.

Finally, the expanding separate school system has attracted a smaller, but influential handful of young men who have turned away from the limited opportunities available for advancement in ~~total~~ industry, or who have come directly to the schools upon completion of a college course.

It is interesting to note that while the public high schools produce a greater number of French speaking Grade Thirteen graduates (and, in the past, ~~Junior~~ <sup>Senior</sup> Twelve graduates) than do their bilingual counterparts, and might, therefore, be thought of as providing a larger reservoir of potential teachers, the separate schools continue to draw far more heavily <sup>upon</sup> ~~from the~~ bilingual schools.



Of the teachers employed by bilingual elementary schools in the study area, only twenty-five percent have been educated in the public school system, while an additional eight percent had one or two years of public schooling. The remaining sixty-eight percent of the present teaching staff were educated entirely in private bilingual institutions, prior to their normal school training. Many explanations may properly be given for this trend in selection including the cultivated interest of the bilingual school graduate in French language education, and the probable tendency of the boards and principals to reward those who had already visibly demonstrated their language preference and Catholicity. By thus expanding the limited market for graduates, local boards have expressed their confidence in and support for the private institutions. More important, however, is the difference in opportunities for graduates of public and private secondary schools.

The bilingual schools have not been able to offer the Department Grade Thirteen. Thus Grade Twelve is a terminal point for many students, who have, however, been permitted to enter Normal School directly at either Sudbury or Ottawa and to obtain a "second class" certificate valid for the bilingual schools. This option has attracted many graduates of the Collège, and the Académie, <sup>for whom the</sup> ~~whose~~ alternative is the difficult transition to an English language Grade Thirteen in the local high school, which would in any case open a wider vista of work and educational



choices to siphon off those whose initial aim may have been teaching.

Those prospective teachers who are successful in completing Grade Thirteen in the public secondary schools appear more apt to train in an English language Normal School for reasons of wider employment opportunities and generally higher salaries. Of all current bilingual school teachers, first employed in the study<sup>even</sup> within the past five years, sixty percent have possessed only the second class certificate. Not all of these were novice teachers at the time of their employment, of course, but this is indicative of the ease with which the private school product may step into the expanding secondary school system, as over against the difficulties of further advance through public schooling or the limitations of <sup>other</sup> local employ<sup>ment</sup> for high school graduates, particularly girls.

Sixty-four percent of all teachers in the study area had received their own education in the district between Cochrane and Hearst, whereas the corresponding figure for the public school system was sixteen percent. Of this same group forty-two percent had no prior teaching experience when they were first employed in the study area, forty-one percent were recruited from other schools in northern Ontario, thirteen percent came from schools in the Ottawa district, three percent from French speaking areas in the south (e.g. Midland), with only one staff member coming from a prior teaching position in Quebec. ( )

( ) Table G





In sum, the obvious tendency for the separate elementary schools to recruit directly from private bilingual high schools in the North, tends to promote the development of a somewhat closed and insulated system by providing a teaching staff which is familiar primarily with the channels of French language education, to which their students are in turn directed.

In interviews with a twenty percent random sample of the teaching staff in each bilingual elementary school, teachers were questioned on their knowledge of the local public high school, of the Robarts Plan, of university entrance requirements and of the availability of higher education in some specialized fields. The great majority of all teachers, as well as several of the principals were unfamiliar with the new Ontario programme to the extent that they were unable even to designate the three major branches of study. In rural areas, teachers in senior grades, and even some who were actually teaching Grades Nine and Ten, showed little interest in or awareness of the secondary school system. Those who were familiar with the public school system included, of course, most of those teachers who had themselves graduated from English language high schools. On the other hand, the nuns outside the town of Kapuskasing showed the greatest lack of interest. As one nun put it: "Comme je n'enseigne pas le secondaire je ne suis pas trop interesse." This was a nun with some thirty-six years of teaching experience, ~~then~~ in charge of Seventh Grade, ~~and~~<sup>who</sup> was strongly advocating the



establishment of Grades Nine and Ten in her separate school.

As a group, the teachers give strong expression to the predominant values of the French language <sup>middle-class</sup> community and to the educational aims and beliefs of the new bourgeoisie. Most of the teachers have followed, through TV and the French language press, the recent political and social unrest in the Province of Quebec. Their position, however, has been one of observation rather than involvement: expressions of understanding, even sympathy were coupled in virtually every case with outspoken disapproval of separatism. In general, interviewers were ready to point out the need for change in Quebec, but the readiness to rely on slower and more orthodox vehicles of change i.e. upon the existing political channels, may be, in part, a projection of their own experience in Northern Ontario. Like the community at large, teachers are confident that Northern Ontario will develop as a French-speaking area and that the population will continue to make gains in terms of the further development of French language institutions independent of Quebec. Awareness, however, that the pressures exerted by that Province were strengthening their own hand, in this regard, was often expressed. "Quebec aide beaucoup a maintenir le francais." The affirmation that cultural and bilingual survival was dependent upon the "role vraiment essentiel et indispensable" of the school system was also recurrent: A strong note of militant optimism was present whenever teachers spoke of the future of French language education in Ontario, or of the role of the



schools: "Les Canadiens Francais vont garder leur identite" .

"French Canadians have fought and won ... and will continue to fight."

"On gardera notre identite". "Les professeurs surerent une grosse tache de ~~cons~~server le francais dans les ecoles".

et professeurs francais enseigner et conserver le francais".

"Si on tient a nos devoirs on gardera notre langue".

"Les Canadiens Francaises battera comme par le passe et obtiendra son point et ses droits".

"Les Canadians ne sont pas pres a être vaincu".

Many teachers made the point that it was necessary to teach, not only French but "L'amour de la langue francais".

In an effort to assign a priority to the religious, . linguistic and academic aims of the teaching staffs the following ranking scale was presented to all teachers in the sample group:

Quel aspect de votre emploi vous interesse le plus? (classifiez par ordre).

- preparer les eleves au travail académique secondaire.
- a préserver et perfectionner sa langue maternelle et de conserver son heritage de culture francais.
- a liu procurer une education et une atmosphère religieuse.

A tabulation of all responses showed clearly that religious emphasis was primary, while language and academic goals were accorded at least equal interest. Clergy were nearly unanimous in placing religious interests first, language goals second, and academic preparation last.





The orientation of the bilingual teachers to the private secondary school, and to the Northern French community may be inferred from the pattern of their recruitment, but it is expressed, as well, in the broad educational and work goals which they communicate to their students. When asked where they would direct their pupils for studies after the Eighth Grade, some sixty-six percent of the interviewed teachers chose private bilingual institutions, as over against public secondary schools. Teachers were subsequently asked this question:

Pour faire son choix d'une école secondaire quel element est le plus important pour l'eleve? (Classez par ordre d'importance)

- (1) l'enseignement dans sa langue maternelle
- (2) l'enseignement religieux
- (3) l'aspect academique pousse

Summation of the ranks assigned by the teachers yielded an estimate of the overall ranking, in which linguistic and academic goals were accorded almost exactly equal emphasis, with religious aims ranked well below. This suggests of course, that the orientation of elementary level teachers to bilingual secondary schools, evidenced above, is more a matter of language than of religion

The estimates of teachers on the relative weights of linguistic and academic goals are somewhat inconsistent with the



attitudes of parents, as these were expressed in response to a questionnaire. When asked to rank various educational goals, French parents placed roughly equal emphasis upon preparation for work and for higher education, with secondary emphasis upon preservation of the mother tongue and on disciplinary development. (See table E ) Indeed, in their primary emphasis on the related goals of work and academic preparation, the patterns of response were virtually identical for French and English parents.

Corollary to these strong beliefs about the importance of language in the selection of secondary schools, the teachers were certain that a bilingual student would have better job opportunities than either the French or English monoglot. Only two out of twenty-five interviewees suggested that the English speaking applicant would be preferred. In the English schools, both separate and public, however, teacher interviewees were divided in opinion, with slightly more than half expressing the opinion that a native English speaking person would have better opportunities. (See table F )

Bilingual teachers also expressed the very strong conviction that students ought to remain in, or return to, the north: of twenty-six interviewees, fifteen thought that their pupils should stay in the north, eight felt that it would be advantageous to leave the area, while the remaining three claimed to be indifferent.



(TABLE E)

SUM OF RANKS FOR  
FOUR EDUCATIONAL GOALS

(Random Sample Kapuskasing Parents)<sup>(1)</sup>

Question: Which are the most important aims of the school system? (number in order of importance: i.e. #1 will be most important. ( ) discipline the child, ( ) equip the child to earn a living, ( ) preserve the mother tongue and cultural heritage of the English community, ( ) prepare the child for higher education.

Language Spoken	In home	by Religion	by	Ranking of	Educational Goals	
	<u>No Response</u>	<u>Work Prep</u>		<u>Disc.</u>	<u>Mother Tongue</u>	<u>Educ. Prep.</u>
R.C.						
French	96	151		160	164	149
English	29	45		51	61	43
Other	1	2		3	4	1
Prot.						
French	2	0		0	0	1
English	52	88		108	144	80
Other	0	0		0	0	0
Other						
FrBBB	1	2		5	1	1
EngBB	3	4		8	6	3
Other	1	1		1	0	1
Total Relig.						
French	99	153		165	165	151
English	85	138		170	215	128
Other	2	3		4	4	2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE

ASSIGNMENT OF FIRST RANK (2)

BY THREE MAJOR ETHNIC RELIGIOUS GROUPS

	<u>Work Prep</u>	<u>Disc.</u>	<u>Mother T.</u>	<u>Educ. Prep</u>
Fr.Catholic	25.8%	15.7%	14.6%	43.8%
Eng.Catholic	29.2%	20.8%	0.0%	50.0%
Eng.Prot.	27.1%	18.8%	0.0%	54.2%





- (1) From a small group of questions on education included in a large questionnaire sent to approximately 20% of Kapuskasing households as part of a different research project. The questionnaire was sent in French, or in English, according to known language of the home; alternate forms were available on request.
- (2)  $\% = \left( \frac{\text{No of first ranks accorded any one goal by the group}}{\text{Total no. of first ranks assigned by group at 100}} \times 100 \right)$



Table F shows how the attitude of the teachers in this regard is reflected in the localized work goals of the students themselves. Data for the students were collected by means of a fixed alternative questionnaire, administered to all Eighth Grade students by the research team.

While there is congruity between the thinking of teachers and students within the bilingual schools, this was not the case for the public schools, where teacher orientation was inconsistent with student attitudes (and also with the opinions expressed by the high school teachers, who strongly favoured mobility).

What emerged from these interviews as a whole was the clear self-conception of many teachers as bearers of the practical burden of perpetuating a French-speaking northland. This conception was reenforced by the expectations and support of the local priests and commercial bourgeoisie. Corollary to this attitude, which ranges from a sense of "mission" on the part of a few, to a simple identification with and commitment to the parent community on the part of others, there is a strong sense of dependency upon and involvement with the growth of "L'Ontario du Nord". Not only in the sense that the French speaking Ontarian is trapped within certain pockets, movement from which involves some degree of linguistic and cultural renunciation, but in the recognition that the expansion and enrichment of the North will create new opportunities and new offices, these teachers display a sense of obligation to the northland. They seek not only to train, but to retain, a more socially conscious and occupationally skilled group of young people. ( )



(TABLE F)

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

TEACHER ATTITUDE ON PLACE OF WORK

N-40 (20% Interview sample per school)

"In general, do you feel that your students should plan to find their work in Northeastern Ontario, or should you prepare them to move out (e.g. to the south or to another province)?"

"De façon générale, pensez-vous us que vos élèves doivent se préparer a prendre un emploi localement ou devez-vous les préparer a quitter le region (pour s'établir, soit dans le sud de l'Ontario, soit dans une autre province.)"

	N	Move Outside North	Stay In North	Undecided
English language schools	14	5	9	0
Bilingual schools	26	8	15	3

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

STUDENT ATTITUDE ON PLACE OF WORK

N-368 (Questionnaire to all Grade Eight Students)

"Do you plan to work in Northern Ontario, or do you expect to move out? (e.g. to the South)"

"Avez-vous l'intention de travailler dans l'Ontario Nord, ou pensiez-vous de demenager?(e.g. dans le Sud)"

	BOYS				GIRLS				TOTAL			
	N	NR	NORTH	OUT	N	NR	NORTH	OUT	N	NR	NORTH	OUT
French (town schools)	59	36	15	8	54	35	14	5	113	71	29	13
French (rural schools)	52	17	22	13	52	19	21	12	104	36	43	25
English (public schools)	56	17	12	27	63	5	19	39	119	22	31	66
St Patricks	13	8	1	4	18	6	2	10	31	14	3	14

NR - No response.





SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF BILINGUAL SCHOOL TEACHERS (Total Staff)

Name of School	Years of Teaching in Study District		Number of Teachers	Mean number of years Teaching Experience	Maximum Education		Teaching Certification						Prior Teaching Experience				Locale Where Educated		Occupation of Parent				
	1-5	6			Grade 12	Grade 13	Degree	L.P.	2nd Class	Standard I	II	III	IV	Other	North Ontario	Quebec	Ottawa Area	South Ontario	N.I.	Kapuskasing District	Other Area	Labour	Trade
St Gertrude	1-5	10	4	5	5	1	6	2	1				3	2	5		6	4	2	2	3	2	3
	6	5	12	4	1			2	3				4	1			3	2	2	2	1		2
St Donat	1-5	1	5	1			1						2		1			1		1			
	6	2	12	2													2	2		2			2
St Jeanne D'Arc	1-5	9	6	4*	3	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	3		4	5		6	2		1
	6	2	12	2			2						2				2	1	1	2			2
St Jules	1-5	10	4	9	1		7	1	1			1		2	6		7	3		2	7		1
	6	3	23	1	2			1		2			3				1	2		3			3
Jacques Cartier	1-5	11	2	7	4		8	3					1	10			11			2	7		2
	6	7	10	5	2		4	2	1				7				5	2		3	2	1	1
Jeanne Mance	1-5	8	5	4	3	1	3	4	1				2	4			4	4		2	4	2	
	6	6	16	3	3		2	4					5	1			4	2		3		1	2
Sacre-Coeur	1-5	11	3	10	1		5	3	3				3	1	7		5	6		3	6		2
	6	5	14	3	1	1	3	1		1			4		1		4	1		3			3

(Frequency distributions except where otherwise indicated) \* plus 1 education unknown

(TABLE G)









(TABLE G)

Name of School	Years of Teaching in Study District		Number of Teachers	Mean number of years Teaching Experience	Maximum Education		Teaching Certification					Prior Teaching Experience				Locale Where Educated		Occupation of Parent				
	1-5	6			Grade 12	Grade 13	Degree	L.P.	2nd Class	Standard I	II	III	IV	Other	North Ontario	Quebec	Ottawa Area	South Ontario	N.I.	Kapuskasing District	Other Area	Labour
Smooth Rock Public School (TSA Kendrey)	1-5	2	2	5	2		2										2		2	1	1	
	6	1	1	20	1							1					1		1	1		
Eastview Public School	1-5	7	4	5	4		7						1				4	2	1	6	4	2
	6	1	1	8	1		1						1				1		1	1	1	
Diamond Jubilee Public School	1-5	16	6	5	6	10	15					1	3	1			1	6	2	14	6	6
	6	9	8	18	1		4	1	3	1			3				4	2	3	6	4	5
St Patrick's Public School	1-5	10	3	4	3	7	7	2	3				2	2			1	4	4	6	6	4
	6	6	4	11	2		4	1					6						4	2	2	4
Public Schools	1-5	36	10	5	10	15	24					1	4	1			1	12	8	3	22	7
	6			14	10	1	5	1	3	1		1	4				5	2	3	8	6	5
Bilingual Schools	1-5	109	47*	4	19	2	1	43	16	4	2	3	13	1	10	2	43	44	25	20	34	4
	6		19	14	11	4	13	11	3	3	4		29	3	1	1	22	12	15	11	2	6

Frequency distribution except where otherwise indicated) \*plus 1 education unknown





Language and Academic Achievement:

In the eyes of the English language community, and of the spokesmen in the public schools, the disjunction of the separate schools has evolved in two dimensions, the linguistic and the academic. It would appear reasonable to assume differential English language ability, as between town bilingual school graduates and English language graduates - despite claims to full bilingualism made in support of the separate schools; it seems further necessary to hypothesize differences within the French language community related to ecological and socio-economic factors. Indeed, in many quarters, the alleged language differences are considered to be sufficient in explaining differential achievement at secondary school level. Similarly, the charge of academic deficiencies in the separate schools was repeated so frequently among the English speaking community, that statements of such differences were accepted almost as truisms.

What became obvious, very early in the research project, was simply that no real evidence of such differences in linguistic and academic skills did exist, but rather that their gravity had been inferred by certain observers from the lack of success encountered by bilingual school graduates in the competitive high school setting. Under ordinary circumstances variations of academic standards, or of curricular content would have been reflected in the results of standardized achievement testing. Enquiry soon pointed up the absence of such testing programmes in the bilingual system: no



school in the study district had used standardized tests, at any time, as far as could be ascertained. Principals and teachers were aware that tests administered in English would prejudice any accurate assessment of academic ability, but had eliminated the possibility of utilizing instruments from Quebec because of the divergence of curricula. Presumably, tests of English language ability might have been given at any time, but the bilingual teachers generally did not define English language weakness as immediately problematic, and remained less than anxious to engage in comparisons.

Standardized testing is generally undertaken in two (f) areas, for rather different purposes. "Achievement" tests measure the level of academic skill, in any particular subject or subject area, in terms of a given curriculum, with a view to the internal ranking of students or, alternatively, the comparison of classes within or between schools. Finally, individual or group scores can be compared with the provincial or regional norms to provide a much broader picture of achievement levels. While school-set examinations may provide an adequate internal ranking, these offer no satisfactory basis for intra-school contrast. If the grade system is to present a series of manageable steps, then the common activity in grade Nine must bear some proportionate relationship to the kind and quality of work which preceded it in the senior grades of diverse elementary schools, public or separate. Of course, from one point of view, the separate school is by its very nature divergent, but there remains to be tested the underlying assumption of a comparable academic background which does not systematically discriminate against any

(f) re other kinds of tests





group of students in terms of the possibilities for that diversity of secondary schooling, which is available only in the public institutions (f). Where, in the separate schools, a closed system of staff recruitment together with other restrictions upon communication, leads toward insulation rather than correlation, the absence of standardized testing may be presumed to have been critical in reenforcing the drift of the separate school toward a marginal position.

Ontario does possess a fairly extensive and widely used library of standardized tests at secondary school level, but their effectiveness in the earlier grades may be severely compromised by differential language skill. The "Carnegie Study", (f) which generated a number of the Ontario tests, is instructive in this regard. In 1959-60, the <sup>Ontario</sup> grade nine population wrote a series of papers, including three tests of English language achievement, three tests of achievement in mathematics, three tests of academic aptitude, designed to measure linguistic, mathematical and abstract (non-verbal) dimensions, and a "student questionnaire" probing socio-economic background, educational goals and occupational orientation. Throughout northeastern Ontario, and perhaps in other areas, these tests were administered, in English, to a population which was predominantly French speaking, and which included, moreover, substantial numbers of rural students who did not possess even rudimentary skill in English. A number of French students who had written these tests recalled the bewilderment and amusement with which they

(f) See re Roberts' Plan





had approached the questionnaires: in tests of academic aptitude French speaking students were asked to discriminate between groups of unfamiliar English words. It was on the basis of questions such as the following that students were rated in the CAAT-I: (test of verbal reasoning

(f) 23. Which one of the following might be an effect  
of vaccination?

- (1) immunity (2) vivacity (3) crime (4) depression
- (5) prosperity

Repeatedly, in searching the records of French students who had written these tests, the researchers found scores in the very low percentile ranks on the verbal test (CAAT-I), somewhat improved performance in mathematical reasoning (CAAT-II), and frequently higher scores on non-verbal ability (CAAT-III). Now, in so far as the instruments may have been designed to effect prediction of secondary school performance (they were, in later years, related to various achievements tests) (f), and thus to measure "aptitude" for academic work rather than "ability", in the sense of the more familiar I.Q., the use of English language tests may be rationalized in terms of performance prediction within an English language school system. This argument would have it, in effect, that the tests introduce the same systematic biases imposed by the English language secondary school, and might thereby be presumed to correlate with performance. The question of the validity of this testing may be raised in these terms however: are the tests measuring the same dimensions of aptitude in the case of French and English students? What meaning can be attached to the scores of French-speaking students who encounter formidable vocabulary difficulties in the



completion of a test in mathematical reasoning? Were these tests efficient predictors of high school performance for the French students, or were other factors impinging upon the social and linguistic adjustment of the French student to the English language setting equally significant?

The difficulties in interpreting the results of the Carnegie Study tests are illustrative of the whole field of problems related to testing linguistically differentiated groups. Of the Grade Nine Carnegie group, fourteen percent were students from homes in which English was not the chief language spoken. (f) Moreover, of these the French speaking (five point nine percent must have included a substantial number of students who, like many in the Kapuskasing area, were only several weeks removed from French language schools. Yet the results of these tests in the French-speaking northeastern areas were simply collated with all others: statistical summaries were presented, and although scores were analysed by course, sex and size of municipality, no reference was made to language differences or to the presumed effect of this variable upon the provincially established norms. More important, perhaps, the battery of both achievement and aptitude tests developed for use in the 1959 study, and the norms established at that time have remained in use at the high schools, and several were subsequently extended for use in Grade Eight. In Kapuskasing, for example, French-speaking students have been tested in Grade Nine on the verbal and mathematical (CAAT-I & II) aptitude tests, which were subsequently interpreted as guides to streaming, with no reference to language problems. While the





local public school annually employs the full set of Ontario tests (CEAT I, II & III, GMAT I, II and III, and CAAT I, II and III), and thus ensures in the senior grade, some conformity with provincial standards as well as some continuity with the academic expectations of the secondary schools, <sup>checks</sup> No such/are available to the French language schools and in the five years since this battery first came into use, not one test has been translated and standardized. Many of the separate schools in the study district employed a French language version of the Otis (I.Q.), administered in the senior grades, but the value of the results was considerably diminished by the absence of any regional norms and by the ambivalence of secondary school personnel who felt unable to interpret the scores meaningfully.

The character of the standardized test programme which emerged in Ontario contributed, then, toward the integration of public elementary and secondary school levels, while the lack of effective testing instruments for bilingual students bolstered the drift toward isolation of the separate schools and rupture of continuity with secondary levels. Evaluation of academic standards or of individual achievements assumed a local rather than a regional comparative base.

The absence of any testing programme not only made it more difficult to evaluate variation in academic standards but provided, at the same time, a further explanation for such differences as might exist. Undoubtedly, any school functioning in a physically isolated area with a relatively stable, or inexperienced staff,





might tend to lose touch with wider academic standards in the effort not only to realize special linguistic and religious goals, but in the confrontation of regional socio-economic handicaps accentuated by extraordinarily rapid growth. Had the failure of graduates in the public secondary schools not been concealed in part by lack of communication, or attributed to language problems and to the indifference of the English-speaking staff, where it became obvious, then the gap between Grade Eight achievement and the expectations of performance in Grade Nine might have become fully apparent without the aid of common tests. Such was not the case however, and the lack of an effective and regular testing programme could not but accentuate drift.

The consensus among knowledgeable observers, then, was that the gap between separate and secondary schools was both linguistic and academic, with a tendency of French-speaking informants to minimize the academic dimension of the problem. It was evident, however, that some objective index was required in order to establish, first, the existence and extent of such differences, and to provide as well, some basis for assessing the relative importance of each in explaining student mortality in transition.

Two hypotheses were formulated at this point in the study: (1) that important differences in English language ability existed as between bilingual and public school students, and that further differences ought to obtain between the rural and town separate schools, (2) that standards of achievement in other academic areas,



particular in technical and mathematical subjects should vary between public and separate schools, independent of language differences. While these "hypotheses" may appear obvious, there existed, as has been suggested above, no reliable evidence in their support; the aim now was to validate each with reference to a specific student population, by means of objective tests.

For this phase of the research, assistance was obtained from the Department of Education Research, Ontario College of Education and the University of Toronto. (f) Dr. V. D'Oyley of the Department staff, and Professor R.W.B. Jackson, Director, took considerable interest in the project and advised on the selection and translation of test materials.

In order to estimate the extent of differences in English language skills it was agreed that the first two parts of the Canadian English Achievement Test, (CEAT I and II) those sections dealing with reading comprehension and grammar, would be administered to all Grade Eight students in the eleven schools within the study area. CEAT I is composed of the following sort of question:

Plants need more than moisture in order to grow. They need warm weather. Plants differ in the amount of warmth they need, but most of them are killed by a hard frost. Their growing season, therefore, is measured from the last hard frost in the spring to the first hard frost in the fall. Some plants need a long growing season - a long time between frosts. Others can get along with a much shorter growing season. For example, strawberry plants grow leaves, blossom, and ripen their berries within a few weeks after the last hard frost.





Farmers can raise strawberries where the growing season is short. Grape-vines put out new leaves and blossom in the spring: but the fruit is not ripe until fall. Grapes need a much longer growing season than strawberries do. Oranges need almost the whole year for growing.

1. The best title for this paragraph would be

- (1) The Needs of Plants
- (2) The Growing Season of Plants
- (3) How Long it Takes to Grow Strawberries and Grapes
- (4) The Effect of Hard Frosts on Plants

2. The main idea of this paragraph is that

- (1) all plants need warmth, but some need more than others
- (2) most plants grow only in the spring and summer
- (3) oranges need almost a whole year to ripen
- (4) most plants are killed by a hard frost

3. From this paragraph we may conclude that

- (1) nothing will grow in northern lands because there is little warmth
- (2) oranges will grow only in a completely frost-free climate
- (3) grapes need a longer growing period than oranges
- (4) strawberries can be grown where the summer is very short.

CEAT II involves several sections dealing with diverse topics such as punctuation, capitalization and usage. The following are sample questions

+ He (1) can't ever (2) can never seem to remember the man's name.

- We didn't see how we could have (1) become lost (2) became lost.

The third section(CEAT III), relating to "effectiveness of expression was not given, since it was presumed that this test would almost certainly reflect a greater sensitivity to subtleties of usage on the part of the monoglot English, but that this difference in skill would have less relevance to the efficiency of English as a medium of instruction in other academic subject.





In order to assess the level of achievement in mathematics, selected as a particularly critical instance of extra-linguistic work, it was decided that the (CMAT I) Canadian Mathematics Achivement Test - a test of computation skills presented entirely in numerical form, should be given throughout the Eighth Grade. Questioning here involved no linguistic skill, as the example illustrates:

1. ADD

Choices

5 6 9

(1) 162,792

6 7 8 8 4

(2) 172,792

2 7 2 5

(3) 172,793

1 9

(4) 172,802

8 1 3 8

(5) 173,792

In addition, the researchers undertook to prepare a translation of the second part of the test, an evaluation of familiarity with the usage of mathematical facts, terms and concepts. There were a number of problems to be faced, not only in translating, but in establishing procedures for administration.

The first problem was posed by the fact that material in mathematics was presented neither uniformly in French nor in English throughout the schools in the study districts. In some classes, mathematics ~~were~~ taught in English with the aid of an English text, but questions or supplementary explanations were handled in French; in other schools all the oral and class work was conducted in French.



The schoooos were uniform in two respects, however: all texts were in English, and all written assignments were completed in English. While a test in English would be prejudicial to the extent that terms were translated and used in French for all oral work, a test in French might reflect an equally strong bias, since written work had been predominantly English. Would the bilingual student prove more likely to recognize "prime" than "premium", more ready to define "un carre" than "a square"? The net result of this debate was the preparation of a test form upon which the French and English for each objective question and each fixed alternative response were presented simultaneously to the student, who would remain free to refer to either, or both, in selecting his answer (recorded on mark-sense IBM cards). In order to ensure that the translation would employ those terms actually used by the French-speaking teachers in the area, the first draft of the translation was prepared by a teacher, the Sister Principal of one of the Kapuskasing schools. Subsequently, this translation was checked by the Department of Educational Research in Toronto, and slight corrections were introduced.

Under normal conditions, the working time on the test would have been thirty minutes; since it was presumed that the use of the bilingual test version would require more time (i.e. students might read both French and English) (f) both French and English classes were allowed to work through to eighty percent completion. It was the opinion of Dr. D'Oyley that this procedure would effectively reduce performance differential arising out of diverse use of test time.

(f) This would introduce a possible additional bias in that French students would afford more consideration to each test item.



A number of procedural shortcomings in test administration compromised the reliability of the testing; an awareness of these factors is, therefore, essential to an intelligent reading of the test results. With four tests (forty-five minutes approximate administration time) to be given to some three hundred and thirty-eight students, distributed among thirteen classes in schools over a forty mile area, it became necessary to delegate the actual administration of the tests to principals and teachers. Every effort was made, however, to ensure that all those involved were familiar with the correct procedures, and that tests were given within roughly the same period in all schools.

In all but two schools, the translated CMAT II was given first: since all the tests involved the same routine for recording answers, this gave French students an opportunity to become properly familiar with the testing format before approaching the CEAT or CMAT I tests, where the face page of instructions ~~was~~ not translated. In every case, teachers were asked to offer verbal instructions in both languages. In the two 'town' separate schools of Kapuskasing the CEAT tests were given first, with procedural instructions translated in the classroom.

Diamond Jubilee school annually administer a large number of tests, including all of those utilized by this study: in order to ensure the availability of results prior to the end of term, this school chose to give the "hand scored" rather than the "machine scored" versions.(f) This meant that their classes were presented with an English-only version of the CMAT II, although they were

(f) The versions differ only in the technique for recording answers: results of testing based upon the two versions are assumed to be directly comparable.





asked to comply with the eighty percent completion time limit. Any biases introduced by these variations in procedure would presumably be slight.

In general, the reaction of staff and administrators to the proposed testing was quite favourable, but there were important exceptions. Principals of the two town schools were extremely enthusiastic, even to participating in the preparation of the translated test. They viewed the attempt to formulate a French language achievement tests as a recognition of long standing need, and expressed hope that the provincial authorities would move quickly to provide ~~useful authorities would move quickly to provide~~ useful standardized instruments for the bilingual schools. One of the separate schools, in the former improvement district of Val Albert, was disinclined to become involved, and finally consented only when further delay would have been embarrassing in view of the approval of the school board and inspector. The Principal was particularly concerned that the test findings might promote public dissatisfaction with his school: "If a particular school had certain problems because of the character of the district, the people wouldn't understand .... they would blame the school." At the Ste Gertrude, in Smooth Rock Falls, the Sister Principal viewed the programme with considerable suspicion. Although she gave verbal assurance that the tests would be carried out, and retained all materials at the school, the parish priest was



consulted immediately and no tests were subsequently given. Repeated verbal assurances of cooperation were <sup>made</sup> ~~given~~, but at the close of the term a brief note from the secretary explained that the tests had been overlooked. Similar difficulties had been met in collecting other information on enrollment and on staff. (f)

In order to obtain the best possible estimates of achievement, every effort was made to retain the maximum of data throughout the marking process. Normally, in machine scoring, a number of cases are lost through student failure to observe marking rules (i.e. failure to erase errors correctly, use of pencil to write student name or other information). Following a first marking at the Department of Education Research, all double punched cards were re-marked in order to record the students' original intentions, were scored and then collated with the first group. The result is that, as far as possible, the estimates of central tendency are based upon the marks for an entire class. Variations in the "N" are the result of absenteeism.

The results of the testing are presented in ~~the~~ table ~~on~~ H, ~~on~~ ~~page 100~~. For each test, and for each class, the total N median, mean, and percentile rank of the mean, based on the 1962 norms, (f) are given.

Little comment is required upon the rather obvious differences displayed here. The bilingual school students scored consistently below the tenth percentile on the test of reading



KATSKASKING AND DISTRICT ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS - STANDARDIZED TESTING OF ACHIEVEMENT IN ENGLISH (GR. 8)

SCHOOL	CEAT I				CEAT II (A)				CEAT II (B)			
	N	MEDIAN	MEAN	PR	N	MEDIAN	MEAN	PR	N	MEDIAN	MEAN	PR
IMMACULEE-CONCEPTION	26	11.50	11.50	9.0	26	44.50	42.65	14.9	26	35.00	35.77	30.0
SACRE-COEUR	29	11.00	10.97	7.5	30	44.00	42.50	12.6	30	32.00	30.97	13.6
JACQUES CARTIER	32	10.00	9.97	4.9	32	44.50	41.91	12.6	32	36.00	36.09	30.0
JEANNE MANCE	22	9.00	9.78	2.9	23	43.00	42.57	14.9	23	33.00	32.96	19.3
ST. JULES	32	9.50	10.09	4.9	34	43.50	43.21	14.9	34	32.50	32.18	16.3
STE. J. D'ARC	31	10.00	10.48	4.9	31	45.00	44.61	21.2	31	31.00	31.45	16.3
ST. DONAT	8	11.50	10.75	7.5	8	45.00	39.75	9.6	8	35.50	35.38	26.2
ST. PATRICK'S	30	17.00	16.40	48.5	30	51.00	50.70	59.2	30	41.50	40.60	54.7
TSA KENDREY	21	17.00	17.05	48.5	22	51.00	50.32	51.5	22	36.00	35.36	26.2
D. JUBILEE ( A stream )	32	20.00	20.47	74.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
D. JUBILEE ( B stream )	32	19.00	19.00	66.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
D. JUBILEE ( C stream )	33	15.00	15.52	31.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

(TABLE H)





KAPUSKASING AND DISTRICT ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS - STANDARDIZED TESTING OF ACHIEVEMENT IN MATHEMATICS

SCHOOL	CMAT I				CMAT II				NEW MATHS (Group 7)	
	N	MEDIAN	MEAN	PR	N	MEDIAN	MEAN	PR	N	MEAN (%)
IMMACULEE-CONCEPTION	26	15.00	15.73	18.7	25	14.00	14.36	1.8	58	61.71
SACRE COEUR	30	14.00	13.63	10.5	30	14.00	14.83	2.6	30	63.47
JACQUES CARTIER	32	19.50	18.81	36.3	30	19.50	19.10	10.6	60	52.92
JEANNE MANCE	25	20.00	19.24	36.3	25	18.00	19.20	10.6	41	44.31
ST. JULES	33	20.00	20.09	43.6	33	20.00	20.12	14.4	33	46.30
STE JEANNE D'ARC	31	16.00	16.03	18.7	31	15.00	14.90	2.6	32	69.91
ST. DONAT	8	15.50	16.00	18.7	8	14.00	14.25	1.8	15	58.93
St GERTRUDE		N.A.	N.A.			N.A.	N.A.		29	65.72
ST PATRICK'S	30	17.00	16.60	24.0	30	22.00	22.13	24.2	-	-
T.S.A. KENDREY		N.A.			25	24.00	23.12	29.9	-	-
DIAMOND JUBILEE (A. stream)	32	23.00	22.84	71.8	32	32.50	32.53	87.7	-	-
DIAMOND JUBILEE (B. stream)	32	24.00	23.47	71.8	32	27.50	27.00	56.5	-	-
DIAMOND JUBILEE (C. stream)	33	22.00	21.64	61.3	33	26.00	26.42	49.7	-	-

(TABLE H)



comprehension (CEAT I), whereas the English separate school showed an "average" score (i.e. mean<sup>near</sup> fiftieth percentile) and the public schools showed a similar overall tendency (three streamed classes ranging from the seventy-fourth to thirty-first percentile rank). Slightly better scores were obtained by the bilingual school on the test<sup>of</sup> formal 'grammar' (CEAT II (A) and (B).), but a considerable gap remained ~~between~~<sup>by contrast with</sup> the public schools.

In the test of arithmetic computation, all separate schools fell very far below the level established by Diamond Jubilee's classes. More pronounced still was the weakness of the bilingual schools on the test of mathematical facts, terms and concepts (CMAT II); at least four of the schools fell below the fourth percentile rank. The English separate school and the Smooth Rock Falls public school achieved well above the level of the bilingual schools but fell far behind the standard in classes at Diamond Jubilee. These results were the more surprising in so far as all language difficulties were presumed to have been eliminated. On the basis of this evidence, the following conclusions may be considered most probable: (1) great differences in English language skill do exist at the Grade Eight level, but differences between rural and urban students, at the literate as opposed to oral level, are less than had been reported. (f)

- (f) Although all figures are parameters rather than statistics a test of the statistical significance of observed differences might logically have been employed to estimate the chances of errors in test administration and processing; broad differences were so great, however, that the use of such tests might have appeared pretentious rather than helpful.



(2) In mathematics the level of achievement (f) falls well below that of the public schools, when all language factors have been set aside. Moreover, weakness in this area was so pronounced as to suggest a serious barrier to secondary school achievement. Further evidence of internal variance in academic achievement within the bilingual schools is afforded by the standardized testing of mathematics in the Seventh Grade. During the academic year 1964-65 the "new mathematics" were introduced at the Seventh Grade level in all schools throughout the area. M. Joubert, the Inspector of bilingual schools at Kapuskasing supervised the administration of a number of tests given at regular intervals throughout the year, in each school. ~~This table on page~~ Table H presents the mean of the percentage means for each student over the entire set of tests. Performance in the two town schools was superior to that of the Brunetville or Val Albert schools, but roughly comparable to the work done at Fauquier or Smooth Rock Falls. Moonbeam and Brunetville schools presented failing averages. No comparable data was available from the public schools, so that this particular body of data serves only to reemphasize internal variability, and to suggest the possibility of less consistent teaching standards in certain of the rural or 'suburban' schools.





Descriptive evidence of differential linguistic and academic achievement may be "explanatory" in terms of secondary school achievement, a problem taken up by the section which follows, but these variations in achievement must themselves be interpreted as the product of all those differences in aims, structure and staffing of the schools suggested in this section, and of the absence of adequate mechanisms for promoting and checking academic congruency. Moreover, the only legitimate inference which can be made from the limited testing reported above is that the standards of achievement are divergent within the area studied. The use of a departmental rating scale yields indicies of "more" or "less" achievement according to one curriculum presumed common: the resultant ranking is relevant only in terms of that standard, and is not inconsistent with the possibility of considerable and relatively unchecked divergence in curricula. The implications of such curricula drift might be more important in subjects other than mathematics.



In attempting to describe those ways in which the bilingual schools of the Kapuskasing area have moved away from the larger system, and to suggest the breakdown, or continuing lack, of contiguity with the heavily populated areas of secondary schooling, divergence has been emphasized at the expense of obvious congruity. What must not be overlooked, however, is the enormous success of these institutions in perpetuating and strengthening a community of consciously French Catholics against the power of attraction of the locally more prestigious English culture, and the English language industrial setting. Demand for change, in the widening of work and educational opportunity, however, has introduced strains which now create ambivalence for administrators, teachers and parents, as goals and tactics are reassessed. The disproportion between bilingual separate schooling and opportunity for achievement at secondary levels has been thrown into much sharper focus in this process of reevaluation.



SECTION IV

PROBLEMS IN TRANSITION:

BARRIERS TO EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT





#### IV PROBLEMS IN TRANSITION: BARRIERS TO EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

It has been the task of the preceding section to argue that, within a formally unified educational system, the historical force of the community's ethnic, religious and economic strains has driven separate and public schools apart, and that the built-in "checks" and coordinating mechanisms have proven inadequate in maintaining academic uniformity or continuity. This argument rests upon the assertion - and such it remains at this point - that the gap between bilingual elementary schools and English language public institutions is so great as to impede movement, and, thus, to introduce a systemic or "built-in" barrier to educational achievement. In this section the patterns of movement and the attendant problems of accommodation will be sketched, as a preface to comparative evidence on the extent and location of mortality among French and English speaking students.

##### Divergent Goals

In assessing the differential of French and English group achievement within the public secondary schools, it must be kept constantly in mind that French and English students enter with diverse educational and work goals. Where the French-speaking student may feel reluctant to venture outside the Northland to which he is bound by kin and by language, the English-speaking student often has stronger kin and linguistic ties with the South. On the one hand, the French community is traditionally associated with labouring tasks; the mobile French youngster most often



seeks entry to one of the skilled trades which he sees as important and secure within the community: the English population on the other hand, is more urbanized, more thoroughly oriented toward higher education and "professional" occupations. The larger families of the rural French group still make prolonged education an unrealistic goal, too, for many youngsters, as does the social and geographic distance of centres for higher study.

Tables J and K document the differences in educational and work goals, with regard to the present populations of the Eighth Grade, and of the secondary schools, respectively.

As recorded by Table "J", a larger proportion of the English speaking students aimed at studies beyond the secondary school level, either in a university or technological school, while more of the French students intended to begin work following completion of their high school course, or were undecided. In answering all of the questions involved, a very much larger proportion of French students were undecided, whereas the English students appeared to have more definite long range plans for education and work. Similar, but smaller differences were noticeable in respect of work goals: however, the numbers of French students aiming at occupations of "professional" standing were heavily weighted with rural French students oriented to teaching and nursing. Most obvious of all is the sharp difference in the inclination to employment in Northern Ontario, in which the



TABLE "J"

Educational and Work Goals: Grade  
Eight Students in Kapuskasing  
District (1964-5) N = 367

Educational Goals

	<u>Aiming at</u> <u>Tertiary</u> <u>Education</u>	<u>No aim at</u> <u>Education</u> <u>beyond High</u> <u>School</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Total</u>
French Students	117 (53.9%)	77 (35.5%)	23 (10.6%)	217 (100%)
English Students	117 (78.0%)	28 (18.7%)	5 ( 3.3%)	150 (100%)

Projected Area of Work and Residence

	<u>North Ontario</u>	<u>Outside North</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Total</u>
French Students	72 (33.2%)	38 (17.5%)	107 (49.3%)	217 (100%)
English Students	34 (22.7%)	80 (53.3%)	36 (24.0%)	150 (100%)

Work Goals

	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Trade</u>	<u>Labour</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Total</u>
French Students	52 (25.1%)	86 (39.6%)	27 (12.4%)	52 (24.4%)	217 (100%)
English Students	46 (30.7%)	76 (50.7%)	10 ( 6.7%)	18 (12.0%)	150 (100%)





Table "K"

Educational Goals and Work Orientation  
 X Mother Tongue: students enrolled in  
 secondary schools in Kapuskasing and  
 District, (1964-5).

Educational Goals:

Mother Tongue	Total	Grade 10	Grade 12	Grade 13	University	Technical		
						School	Special Commercial	Undecided
English	445 (100%)	16 (3.6%)	64 (14.4%)	42 (9.4%)	225 (57.3%)	37 (8.3%)	12 (2.7%)	19 (4.3%)
French	615 (100%)	94 (15.3%)	173 (28.1%)	95 (15.5%)	139 (22.6%)	29 (4.7%)	69 (11.2%)	16 (2.6%)
Other	68 (100%)	1 (1.5%)	18 (26.5%)	2 (2.9%)	25 (36.8%)	10 (14.7%)	7 (10.3%)	5 (7.4%)

Work Orientation:

Mother Tongue	Total	North Ontario	Out of North		Undecided
English	443 (100%)	156 (35.2%)	272 (61.4%)	15 (3.4%)	
French	613 (100%)	408 (66.6%)	190 (31.0%)	15 (2.4%)	
Other	69 (100%)	16 (23.2%)	49 (71.0%)	4 (5.8%)	



French students reflect the strong commitment to the north expressed by their teachers, and, to some extent, by the French speaking community at large.( )

While the projections of students at this level may well have little relation to their long range achievements, there can be no doubt that such plans will influence the critical decisions in terms of school and course selection now pushed back to the Eighth Grade: choices made at this time may close - or at least increase in complexity and difficulty - routes of access to higher education and to the career lines which flow out of these areas of specialized training.

Table K shows, with greater force, and in greater detail, the divergent educational goals of French and English: the terminal points at Grades Ten and Twelve are larger for the French group, which is over-represented in the two year and four year programmes ( ). Differences in anticipated place of work are retained among the older group here represented.

#### Patterns of Flow

In order to appreciate the manifold difficulties of transition from bilingual schools to English language classes, some idea of the very uneven flow of students must be afforded. The accompanying diagram, or schematic "flow chart" gives a crude graphic approximation, serving to contrast the rather

( )

( ) See



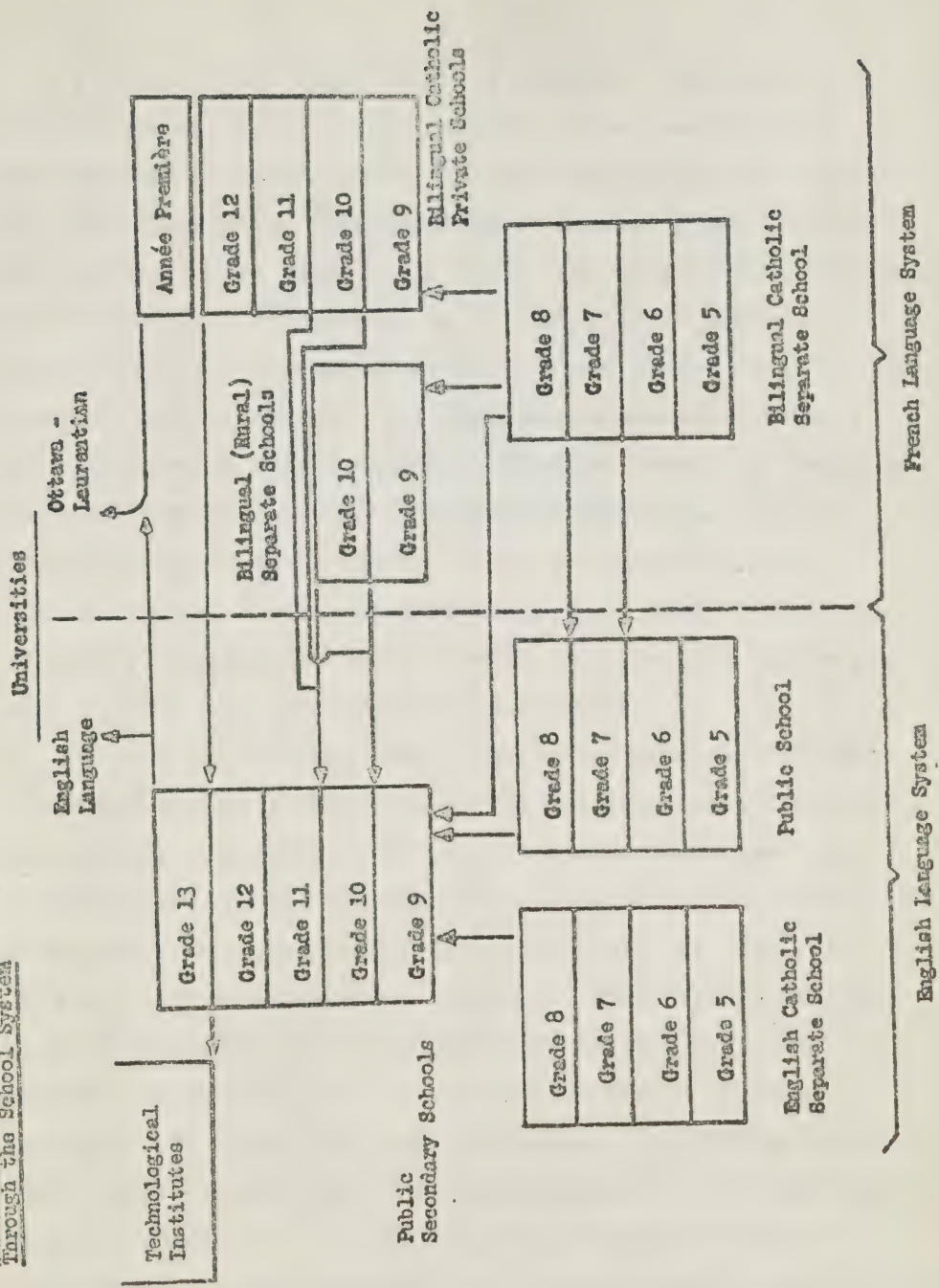
more orderly progression of public school, and English Catholic school children, with the slow leakage of students from the bilingual system at Virtually every later grade. The relationship between the English language elementary schools and the District High School is not at all problematic: in the normal course of events, the student enters Grade Nine at the local secondary school, after completion of his Eighth Grade in elementary school. Only in the case of the public school at remote Little Long Rapids - on isolated hydro development- are students retained until the end of Grade Ten.

From the bilingual schools, the transfer of students to English schools begins even prior to Grade Eight. Some parents who plan to make later use of the English high school deliberately move the children to an English<sup>language</sup> setting in order to ensure earlier development of the necessary linguistic skill. According to the public school staff, such a move frequently necessitates the loss of an academic year, due to initial "shortcomings" which they describe both as linguistic and academic. Other parents have effected such a transfer in order to minimize education costs during periods of local or family crises. Although clerical sanctions inhibiting the withdrawal of Roman Catholic students have been substantially weakened in the last few years, ( ) the financial burden for secondary school supporters has been lightened,<sup>and</sup> this type of early transfer is now progressively rarer.





FLOW CHART: Patterns of Movement  
Through the School System





From the Grade Eight level, a number of routes are open to the bilingual school graduate. Town students may not continue in the separate schools, since Grades Nine and Ten are not offered, but they must choose between Grade Nine in the "English" high school, and Grade Nine in a private Catholic institution, either close by, or in some distant centre. The possibility of attending Grade Nine in one of the rural schools poses a third alternate: for students in Smooth Rock Falls this was a relatively frequently attempted route. At Moonbeam, the grey nuns operate such a "convent" where town girls are housed while attending the two additional grades offered locally. ( ) Similar choices are in fact open to the rural bilingual students for whom, however, continuation in the same school is an even more appealing possibility.

At the end of Grade Nine, those rural graduates who wish to enter academic streams other than the Arts and Sciences must move to the District High School. A similar move must be made by those who had enrolled in the nearby English Continuation school at Smooth Rock Falls, where only the five year Arts and Science programme is offered. During the first two years of secondary schooling, moreover, there is a continual exchange of students between English and French language institutions. Those who find themselves in difficulty at the high school - often with Christmas averages <sup>such</sup> as seventeen or twenty-five percent - return to French schools: movement in the other direction reflects the often-expressed dissatisfaction



of students and parents with instruction or supervision in the private schools. From Grade Ten, the rural students, together with the town refugees who have been attending rural schools, must now choose between private and public secondary schools. Progress through Grades Eleven and Twelve is then comparatively straightforward, but at the conclusion of Twelve the private school students face a final transfer to the high school, since the private bilingual schools do not offer Grade Thirteen. ( ) The only alternative course is to seek enrolment in the "année première" - a French language programme which, according to our informants, functions as an alternative to the Ontario Grade Thirteen, providing entry to the University of Laurentian, or Ottawa. Although this programme is available only at centres such as Hearst it does channel a few students of means through to university, effectively short circuiting the Grade Thirteen language barrier.

The whole picture is complicated by a continued migration of French students out of the region, and their occasional return from centres such as Ottawa. What is obvious is simply that the District high school becomes a remote but necessary goal for a majority of French students, who enter regularly at every grade level with the exception of Twelve, possessing very different kinds of background.





At each point of entry, the problems of transition are somewhat diverse for each source group. It is precisely at those points of departure where the gap is widest, and where movement is most difficult, that inertia develops: by inhibiting transition to secondary levels, bilingual schooling takes on a terminal character. French-speaking students, wandering almost aimlessly through the school system, lose direction at many points, and are encouraged to premature withdrawal. Although short term adjustments in new bilingual institutions may defer the high costs of accommodation to the English system, mortality is high among French students at all points of entry.

#### Choosing Schools and Courses

Before looking into differences in performance at secondary school level, it will be profitable to raise briefly--almost parenthetically--some consideration relevant to the sorting of students into new schools and courses at the end of grade eight. Of course, few students postpone such decisions until the completion of grade eight: recruitment for both private and public schools begins in the fall term, and students are asked to complete forms indicating their choice of both school and course. In effect, this often requires that pupils, or their parents, formulate long range school and work objectives. However, unrealistic such decisions,



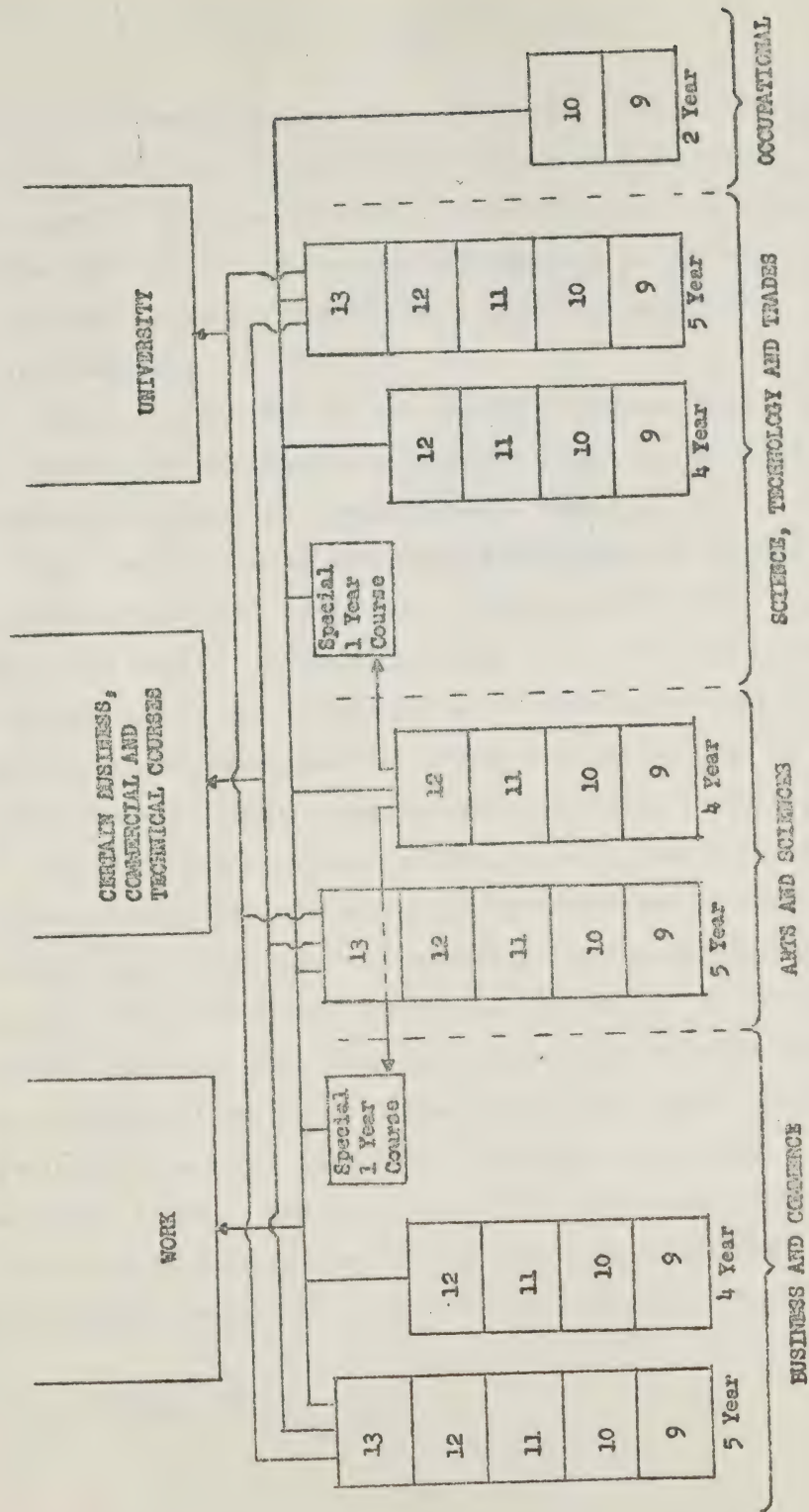
however inadequate the information and considerations upon which they are based, it nevertheless remains true that for a large number of pupils these crucial choices are to some extent irrevocable, without costly repetition of grades.

There is, at present, greater flexibility than is suggested by the formal division of branches and streams in Ontario's diversified programme, which is outlined on the accompanying chart; superior performers in 4 year streams are recruited to the five year programmes in the early grades, while weaker students are sent back. Within the high school, such decisions constitute informal mechanisms facilitating second choices, but these corrective devices are less available to students in French language school, who must generally begin over again, and to the occupational students who are thought of as being more rigidly screened upon entry. The importance of initial streaming decisions, then, must not be underestimated.

In order to obtain a better understanding of how, and by whom, such choices were reached, all grade eight students (367 in total) were asked to complete a brief questionnaire on the process and result of their decision making. With regard to choice of school, there was clearly little problem for the English students: only 7 out of 150 were even contemplating a bilingual school. Slightly greater proportions of English students, however, reported having consulted about secondary schooling with both teachers and parents, although advice from the clergy was less frequent than among French students. The latter



REORGANIZED SECONDARY SCHOOL PROGRAMS (DIVERSIFIED), SUGGESTING MOST FREQUENT LINES OF TRANSFER







group were clearly exposed to a great deal of conflicting pressure, with teachers and clergy advocating bilingual (necessarily Arts and Sciences) schooling, parental advice divided between use of the public secondary school and support of bilingual schools, and the peer group favouring the English language schools. ( )

While such figures do not argue, of course, that any one student is necessarily exposed to conflict, the interviewing confirmed that this is frequently the case.

The conflict among advisors is reflected in student dissatisfaction with decisions, to some degree. While only 10% of the English students reported that they were already committed to schools or courses which they themselves would not have chosen independently, twice that proportion of French students (20%) found themselves in such a position.

Indecision was more prevalent, as well, among the French students: while few of the English students had revoked earlier decisions in terms of school selection during the academic year, more than one quarter (27%), of all French students reported that they had initially planned to attend one school, and had reformulated their choice, most often as a result of a parental advice or a visit to the public secondary school. The shift was in the direction of the use of public institutions: of 59 French students who had changed their plans, 8 had chosen Bilingual schools over

( ) See Table "X".



ASSISTANCE IN DECISION MAKING AND ADVICE ON SELECTION  
OF SCHOOL AND COURSE

GRADE EIGHT - BILINGUAL SCHOOLS	Offered no Advice		Advised Public Schools		Advised Bilingual Schools		Urged Pupil Make Independent Selection		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Teachers	154	71.0	16	7.4	40	18.4	7	3.2	217	100
Parents	92	42.4	56	25.8	52	24.0	17	7.8	217	100
Peer Group	168	77.4	33	15.2	14	6.5	2	.9	217	100
Clergy	202	93.1	4	1.8	10	4.6	1	.5	217	100

[illegible]



an earlier choice of public institutions, while more than three times that number had revoked earlier options for bilingual schooling, and were planning to enroll in a English language school.

While school selection is problematic for all French students, choice of course is equally critical and difficult for all those who elect to use the Kapuskasing District High School. Although public education in the new secondary programme is far from complete even within the English-speaking town community, the French-speaking group, particularly the large rural element, possess even more fragmentary knowledge, if indeed, they have heard of the programme at all. For the first time, in 1964-5, an outline of the revised programme, in French, was distributed through the local bilingual eighth grades, confirming the students themselves, as the only authoritative source of information within most French families. Most students interviewed indicated that their knowledge of course structures came, not from parents or teachers, but from their own visit to the high school--an annual afternoon recruitment tour boycotted in earlier years by some bilingual schools--or from older siblings or friends already in attendance. As pointed out earlier, in Section 3, many bilingual elementary school teachers are poorly informed on the programme, so that French students generally have little reliable guidance in class to supplement any lack of knowledge in the home.





Unlike the English-speaking student, the French student has his choice of course complicated by the problem of school selection, in which area he is exposed to strong linguistic and religious pressures. Even if adequate information were available to all students, the French youngster would have to resolve these additional perspectives in reaching a decision.

Teachers in both the secondary and bilingual elementary schools are further handicapped, in promoting effective streaming, by that lack of adequate aptitude and achievement tests for French language students which was detailed earlier. In the secondary schools, English language I. Q. and academic aptitude tests are used, with effects potentially prejudicial to the location of ability among French students. Further, an absence of trained guidance personnel throughout the bilingual elementary schools underscores the difficulties of accurate sorting and firm direction.

As a result, then, of (1) differences in educational and work goals, (2) widespread lack of understanding of the new programme, (3) compounding of linguistic and religious pressures with emphasis on Arts and Sciences, in the competition of the bilingual secondary schools, and (4) lack of adequate tools and personnel for testing at elementary levels, the French students come to be very unevenly distributed through out the academic streams within the high school. Table "U" shows the distribution of French and English students in grade 9 for the academic year 1964-5.



A compression of this table by branches, in percentages, makes clearer the "under-representation" within the high school, of French students in Arts and Sciences and their "over-representation" in Commercial and Occupational Courses.

<u>Grade 9 1964-5 K.D.H.S.</u>	<u>Mother Tongue</u>	
	<u>English and Other</u>	<u>French</u>
Arts & Sciences	58%	42%
Sciences, Technology & Trades	43%	57%
Business & Commerce	25%	75%
Occupational	14%	86%
All Branches (Total)	42%	58%

The distribution of students in grade 10, where commitment to the four and five year streams is more definite, yielded a similar distribution in 1964-5.

Grade 10, K.D.H.S. (1964-5)

<u>Mother Tongue</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Duration of Programme</u>		
		<u>5 year</u>	<u>4 year</u>	<u>2 year</u>
French	109 (100%)	38 (35%)	52 (48%)	19 (17%)
English	137 (100%)	88 (64%)	41 (30%)	8 (6%)

Even if it is argued that a substantial number of very able French students are drafted by the private secondary schools, it would appear probable that a number of relatively competent French students have been consigned to four or two year programme where--with greater motivation, more effective streaming, or a less disadvantageous linguistic and academic background--a higher



level of education might have been sought. In order to make a very tentative test of this hypothesis, the Canadian Academic Aptitude Test, Part III, ( ) was administered to all grade nine students at Kapuskasing District High School, and to one of the two non-streamed Arts & Sciences grade nine classes at the Académie D'Youville. While the CAAT III, used alone, may not be the most effective predictive instrument, it did offer a non-verbal format which would provide a basis for comparison of French, English and other students. Table "U" provides summary data on the results of this testing, including the median class score, the arithmetic mean of the class scores, the percentile rank of the mean (Standardized Percentile Ranks of October 1959--Ontario), and the quartile deviation.

Two patterns were apparent in these test results. First, it became clear that the Académie was not "skimming off" the most able French students, as rated by this test: the mean score of grade nine students there compared unfavourably with the same measure of French classes in the same stream. The mean score of French Arts & Sciences students, from all grade 9 classes was 27.1 (Percentile rank of 24) compared with 25.7 (Percentile rank of 20) at the Académie. The large quartile deviation at the Académie confirmed that the private school was recruiting students of a very wide range of abilities: actually, this class of 27 students contained 10 pupils at or over the 70th percentile rank, as well as 12 pupils who fell below the 20th percentile rank. Nine students

( ) See The Carnegie Study, Bulletin No. 5 pub.  
Department of Educational Research, Ontario College of  
Education, University of Toronto.





were actually located at or below the eighth percentile, which was the mean position for students in 9 Occ. 1, a two year occupational class in the public secondary school. It seems unlikely, then, that the position of the French within the high school can be explained by any suggestion that the private schools withhold the more apt French students.( )

A second point of interest proved to be the larger quartile deviation in the predominantly French Occupational classes, which suggested the inclusion of a number of more capable students. In theory, the entry to an occupational course is based upon a minimal achievement in aptitude testing, and a minimum age requirement: most often, such students are "referred" or "transferred" from the elementary schools, rather than promoted. The course is intended to serve a low aptitude group by providing highly practical preparation for semi-skilled employment. Although the disadvantaged soci-economic position of the French-speaking population would lead one to anticipate a higher frequency of "occupational" students among that group, yet the 86% French composition of the occupational course suggests both the retention of more marginal English speaking students in four-year classes (eg. 9A3), and some inadequacy in the screening of French entrants. The latter possibility is rather strongly suggested, too, by the inclusion of eight students whose scores were above the 40th percentile rank.(ie. better than the average score in some of the five-year stream classes such as 9T1).

Of course, the single test is an inappropriate basis for any close calculation, and it does not take account of the social and

( ) See Section V for a further discussion of this viewpoint.



personal problems which mark many of the occupational students, but it is an indicator, at the very least.

To summarize, the French students face greater difficulties and handicaps in the selection of school and course, and within the public secondary school, are ultimately more heavily distributed in the shorter-term programmes.



TABLE "U"

FRANCH	CLASS	TOTAL NO. STUDENTS		FRANCH STUDENTS		RUSSIAN STUDENTS		CAAT III (NON-VERBAL)			
								MEDIAN	MEAN	PERCENTILE RANK OF MEAN	QUANTILE DEVIATION
		N	%	N	%	N	%				
ARTS AND SCIENCES	9A1	34	100	2	5.9	32	94.1	35.0	35.5	73.5	4.3
	9A2	34	100	1	2.9	33	97.1	34.5	33.4	58.0	2.7
	9A3	30	100	7	23.3	23	76.7	28.5	26.7	23.0	6.0
	9A4	34	100	33	97.1	1	2.9	28.5	28.1	28.0	4.3
	9A5	28	100	24	85.7	4	14.3	31.0	28.4	28.0	6.5
SCIENCE, TECH & TRADE	9T1	22	100	15	68.2	7	31.8	29.0	29.2	32.0	6.5
	9T2	27	100	13	48.2	14	51.9	31.0	29.2	32.0	5.7
BUSINESS & COMMERCE	9C1	30	100	16	53.3	14	46.7	32.0	26.1	21.0	12.0
	9C2	29	100	28	96.6	1	3.5	29.0	27.5	26.0	6.5
OCCUPATION-AL COURSE	9CCG1	32	100	24	75.0	8	25.0	17.0	18.4	8.0	10.5
	9CCG2	25	100	25	100	0	0	14.5	17.7	7.7	8.0
ARTS & MUSIC	9	27	100	27	100	0	0	31.0	25.7	20.0	10.5





### The New World of Grade Nine

"When you get out of Primary school to enter high school it sure is quite a change! It's like a young boy in a private swimming pool with all the luxuries he could possibly have, suddenly finding himself in the middle of the ocean all on his own." - From a student essay submitted by a French-speaking pupil in Grade Nine at Kapuskasing District High School.

Systematic barriers to movement are erected by the discontinuities of the bilingual and English language systems. Each possible route through the school complex presents specific transitional difficulties which are in turn selective terms of individual, family and community differences, yet for many French-speaking students the crucial adjustment to the English language system presents broadly similar problems. Moreover, for the majority of students, the move occurs at the same point, after Grade Eight or Nine.( ) It is both possible and useful here, to distinguish three major sets of adjustment problems: those difficulties which are inherently linguistic, those problems arising from diverse academic preparation and, finally, the more complex differences in work habits, attitudes, recreation, motivation, and deportment which, although rooted in ecological, socio-economic and ethnic variables are largely reflected in the character of the elementary schools, and which necessitate a major social reorientation.

( ) Those who enter earlier or later, are select groups with somewhat divergent problems. Detailed analysis and comparison with the majority who enter in Nine or Ten has not been undertaken here, although some data was collected.



By permitting the teachers, and above all, the students themselves, to describe their experiences in these dimensions of accommodation, the quantitative evidence of student mortality, offered later, can be set within a more meaningful context.

If problems of language are not the only serious obstacle to the success and adjustment of French students in the public high schools, they are, assuredly, the most obvious.

"I had a class in Grade Nine who could not understand that I wanted them to print their information sheets at registration! They could not quite follow numbers in English, in Mathematics, all year. They had to translate. I notice in study periods that they have difficulty with the English texts - they ask the meaning of quite simple words," commented one of the high school teachers. Another, who had taught in Kapuskasing for more than three decades asserted that "They come into the high school unable to write an English paragraph. It's impossible in History, Geography or Science: an insurmountable handicap for one half of the pupils!" A teacher of French noted that "the English spoken in class is broken and hesitant, with a pronounced accent. I can't imagine how they get by in History & English." Such reports from the secondary school teachers were uniformly assertive of extraordinary weaknesses, which were thought to be more pronounced for the rural students.



"I am careful when I speak, and a high percentage get everything, but some still do not ..... and a lot of them have a lot of trouble when we read anything. Even when I'm reading with the class and they're watching, fifty percent have trouble," another teacher argued, in pointing out that the problems were not simply oral, but extended to the use of English texts. The head of the history department at Kapuskasing related that the French students had experienced so much difficulty in reading his English-language Grade Nine text, that he had been forced to substitute "A text that was much worse in terms of quality."

Not only are many of the French students handicapped in following the oral work in class, and in using the English texts, but there is ample evidence that questioning is inhibited. "They are afraid to ask questions: they've had the experience of asking a question when no one knew what they were asking," a teacher of English explained. A senior teacher of French, the confidant of many French students, described how "some students would ask me, 'the teacher was asking me .....; what does it mean?' ..... ability to question is inhibited." Another French speaking teacher at Smooth Rock, reported: "I never have English conversations with my pupils, except in Health, and there's one group there who will only say 'yes' or 'no'. They won't try a sentence!" At Kapuskasing, as at Smooth Rock, the teachers regard Grades Nine and Ten as language "adjustment" years; at the former





school, even those few teachers who can communicate in French generally avoid doing so in class, (except in "Francais"), in order to force early adjustment to the use of English. "I have a new geography teacher who speaks French. I observed him in Grade Nine and he broke into French six or seven times: I later criticized him and he got so mad that he went to the principal, who backed me up! The teacher was only looking at the point he wanted to make then: he wasn't looking at Grade Ten or Eleven. By Grade Eleven the kid's marks are up and he's O.K. Grade Nine is definitely an adjustment year." "I have mentioned to the class that they should speak English in the halls, to develop their ability," another teacher ventured.

Students, themselves, were most often aware of the seriousness of the language problem - although many were inclined to overestimate their own abilities in English. "Since English is about the only language spoken in some classes, it's more difficult to understand correctly, but I guess I'll get used to it in time, one student reported hopefully.

"At first it was harder for us French Canadians, because in Elementary School everything was taught in French ..... well, it was hard at first but with enough study a student can make it," argued one of the pupils in Arts and Sciences, nearing the completion of Grade Nine.



For another student in the Ninth Grade, both comprehension and expression posed conscious problems: "the teachers talk too fast and you can't learn a thing! ..... If you say something wrong in English, people start laughing at you." As a whole, the Grade Nine students acknowledged, even emphasized, their weakness in English, and argued that they might have been better prepared in the "bilingual" elementary schools. As one boy put it: "There was one thing I kind of disliked in elementary school ..... once we are in (English) grammar period we should speak English and not French. I think that this was my major problem. Why? Because the teacher there - I don't know what he was (thinking of) - but he was always, always explaining the words we didn't know in French instead of English, so I think we weren't ready for high school yet!"

What was surprising in the reaction of the students, however, was not their recognition of the problem but their enthusiasm and optimism in regard to the learning of English. Where many students suggested that they would perform better with instruction in French, a substantial number also emphasized their preference for English: "The subjects are taught in English .... which I like better than French." "Even though I am French, I can still understand English a little better." "The language is more exciting in English because it gives a change to your life and it seems that subjects in English are more fun."



To some extent this reflects the earlier uneasy adjustment of certain children from inter-ethnic marriages to the bilingual school: if English is spoken at home, the child appears to find the move to the high school something of a relief, even though his skills may be weak in both tongues. For many of the French students the need for English is seen not merely as a necessary academic adaptation, but as part of the wider shift of social horizons with which student informants were preoccupied. Entry to the high school marks the first encounter, for many, with large numbers of English speaking students: facility in English language permits the development of new contacts, entry into new groups and movement beyond the neighbourhood and class cliques which had hitherto been impossible. The English world of organized sport, recreation and dances is strongly attractive to many of the town French students, and their reports of the move to the public school repeatedly emphasized such changes more forcefully than either linguistic or academic problems.

"Our friends last year - those who came from a French school - had all French speaking friends. Now, some of them are English, which I rather like." "In high school, you have a chance of knowing much more friends: in elementary school most of your friends were in your class, but now they are spread all over the school." "This year I have as many English friends as French, but last year my friends were all French". "I have made quite a few new friends which speak





mostly English." "When I was in a separate school I had many friends and all of them were French, but since I'm in high school I have many more friends. Some are French and others are English." "My social activities have had a boom since last year. My companions were all French; now they are practically English except for a few who were in my class last year. Dancing was a 'scandal' to me; now I am going to every one here - well, since Hallowe'en. You can see the changes within yourselves!"

Physical education has not yet been seriously accepted by the bilingual schools: students reported that games there were played, but not taught, that no organized programme had been followed, the selection of activities falling rather to the interest of the teacher, and that supervision and enforcement of rules was not provided. Participation in the new world of organized sports is an important and novel experience for many French students, who thus earn prestige within the school and engage a new network of English-speaking acquaintances. For many others, however, the experience is frightening: the student feels ill prepared to compete and may well withdraw from voluntary participation. Many informants suggested that the activities were so highly organized and competition was so strong that they would necessarily be excluded, in the early grades at any rate.

The same inhibitions tend to curtail involvement of the French student in extra-curricular activities and clubs.



While the town students in more senior grades became quite active, newcomers were not only unfamiliar with the proliferation of voluntary associations, but were undoubtedly aware of their language weakness and lack of experience. Teachers remarked upon the resultant "shyness" and withdrawal on the part of many French students, particularly the rural students who suffer from the double liabilities of initially weaker language and social skills, and who are prevented from full participation in athletic and recreational activity by early departure on the bus. For some, the confinement to a totally French-speaking class is a further insulating barrier.

"The French students tend to segregate themselves - they stick pretty much with their French friends; but not in the higher grades." "The kids from the back areas are polite, timid and very grateful." "I don't think you could say they mix well. The extracurricular activities are dominated by the English; French people have to be convinced of their importance. The French student who is accepted is the exceptional, not the average! Some French students see this and try to earn status in athletics."

"They group together," a physical education instructor pointed out, "anytime I gave them a choice of teams, they split along ethnic lines and the French spoke French in setting up the team." "The only (student) organizations I know are typical of adult organizations: the élite run



these, and they are the students from the top streams .... few French Canadians." "I find the French student .... put in the recessive rather than the dominant position, ... a bit of shyness and backwardness, but it may not be all language."

Although the French students are, almost without exception, excited and intrigued by the possibilities of the new setting, and while many succeed in establishing contacts with the English students, both informally and through athletic or recreational associations, the adjustment is lengthy and difficult. In the process, then, many students, particularly those from the improvement districts and the rural areas, soon become acutely aware of their disadvantaged position, and tend to withdraw from the more painful areas of competition.

"One thing I hate myself for is not having joined any after-school activities. I was always telling myself that they would take up too much of my time, or that I was not qualified for it," reported a French student at the end of his first year of high school. This "Social" adjustment is very closely tied up with linguistic accommodation: those students better equipped to interact and to compete reaped the academic benefit of increased English usage, while rural students, marginally involved in the non-academic life of the school, and more likely to be identified with a French-speaking clique, remained more apart and vulnerable.





In many instances, as well, parental influence is used to limit the student's involvement outside the classroom. Heavy demands for assistance, in the home, were reported by a number of students; for example, the coach of a school team reported that there were virtually no French participants, in part because of parental objections to travel, and practice hours, together with the commuting problem for rural students. In respect to social activities, some French parents were similarly reluctant to see their children caught up in the high school environment. "Here in high school there are boys and girls, so some parents doesn't let their girl go to those dances or parties because they think that there are no supervisors, and says that they're too young, and all sorts of things could happen there," reported one Grade Nine girl. While these attitudes are, to some degree, an extension of the image devised by French clergy, there is evidence to suggest that the size of the high school, and the assumption of greater student maturity, are more favourable to certain forms of proscribed behaviour. Student informants from the high school, for example, uniformly reported drinking at school dances and other social functions, in the washrooms, grounds or cars, whereas no students from the Académie could recall such behaviour in their own school. Comparisons are made the more difficult by disparity in size, of course, but a number of pregnancies



occurred in the high school student population during the study year, while there was no evidence of similar difficulties in the French school. Many French parents made reference to such differences in explaining reservations about the public institutions.

Although the French student has moved to an English language educational setting, then, there remain both internal and external forces which tend to limit involvement, and to inhibit the accommodation of weaker rural students in particular.

Inside, as well as outside the classroom, a considerable adjustment is required of the French student: discipline and the relationship to the teacher are considerably different from the earlier experience of the bilingual school, as is the new expectation of self-reliance in academic matters.

"The subjects are harder .... We are much more on our own to write our notes the way we are used to." "This is a big step .... (at the high school) you have to carry on your work if you will to pass and if you don't do it, the teacher didn't do it for you."

"Most of the subjects are very hard and you have to pay great attention because nearly all the notes we have has to be done by ourselves. Last year the teacher most explain us the notes, then write it on the board .... we would copy it in our books."



"Contrary to elementary school, you have to work harder, study more, but you are not treated like a child anymore!" "there is a big difference in school work! In separate school, the teachers would teach us a lesson and then would repeat it for everyone to understand it; but here in high school it's different. When the teacher teaches a lesson we have to pay attention and concentrate, for if you don't you miss the lesson." "Like when we have some homework, let's say I didn't do them, as usual, well in the morning the teacher looks at the work and if you didn't do it, too bad for you; they just leave it as it is and don't say a word. Now I know that we're supposed to be grown up when we come here, but some of us aren't!" "The teachers are not as much close to a student like in elementary school. There the teachers would explain a lesson to everyone personally, until everybody knew it. Here, if we don't understand we have to go ourselves on our own time, which seems impossible. The subjects are harder to understand..." "Attention in grammar school is not as good because the teachers do most of the work for us: all the right notes needed are given to us --- but in high school this is more or less so because we often have to do our own notes and to rely more on ourselves than on the teacher's help."

Such comments from French students in Grade Nine express the difficulties of adapting to the less paternalistic





environment of the public secondary institution following a school experience which placed greater emphasis upon close supervision of neat and uniform assignments. Most probably, the recurrent observation of high school teachers that the French student lacks initiative, ("The English student is more aggressive!") has its roots both in this sudden re-definition of student role on the academic level, and in the reticence and insecurity exhibited in the expanded extra-curricular universe.

Discipline also poses a problem which is somewhat paradoxical. While students reported that discipline was neither more nor less rigid in the secondary school, it does appear to be problematic for the French student to adjust to the use of new freedoms: as he must learn to use greater discretion and initiative in academic matters, he must also learn his more adult role in class participation. Virtually all the high school teachers described their French classes as more "enthusiastic", "excitable", and "talkative", but as one teacher pointed out "The severity of the nuns makes it hard to adapt to the comparative leniency of the high school setting." Thus, although the French students come from schools which place a greater emphasis on manners and discipline than the public schools, they become the source of greater disciplinary problems in the high school.



Pupils were not able to assess their own academic weakness, but not one of the teachers interviewed at Kapuskasing felt that the separate school graduates were as well prepared as pupils from the public schools. The head of the history department had actually conducted a small study: "I would doubt that they are as well prepared as the public school graduates. I took a survey about four or five years ago to see their background in social studies - History and Geography. Their background was weaker. Questions were simply worded in English, for example, 'name the Great Lakes', and answers were in French or English. Separate school students were somewhat weaker, not a great deal." Of course, the comparisons undertaken earlier in Section III, clearly suggest that such variation in academic requirements does exist. (See Section III )

To summarize, then, the French student finds the Ninth Grade demanding of a whole set of adjustments, interrelated in varying linguistic social and academic dimensions.

What happens to these students? Do the problems of transition raise effective barriers to secondary education for some groups of French-speaking students? In order to provide a firm and demonstrable reply to this order of questioning, it was decided, in the course of the research, to collect and summarize data on the secondary school experience of a considerable body of French and English speaking



students in the Kapuskasing district. A maximum thirty-five items of information were recorded for each student who had enrolled in any of the secondary level classes (Nine and Thirteen) in the district, during the academic years 1959-60 through 1964-65. Excluded were those who had enrolled in Grade Nine for the first time prior to 1959, and those who had not completed at least two years of elementary schooling in the district: this latter condition had the effect of rejecting small groups of students from the U.S.A., from Quebec or from Southern Ontario, whose secondary school performances reflect diverse backgrounds which would otherwise complicate and distort the picture of local problems. The data were collected in two ways: students still in attendance at any of the schools in the area completed a questionnaire, ( ) administered by the teaching staff; a group of researchers simultaneously worked through school records - both the Ontario School Record forms, and the simpler student control cards - in each of the five schools involved. Cross-checking subsequently eliminated certain duplications, while absentee students were canvassed to complete the data for current enrolments. While the records at both public secondary schools were extremely neat and complete, for all past years, the only serious bias may be introduced by the inadequacy of records in the separate elementary schools, and at the Académie





d'Youville. In respect of students enrolled in the public secondary schools, the data represents virtually an enumeration over the period in question. Tables N and M record the frequency distributions, for final academic standings, in the first year of Grade Nine only, for each academic year, by secondary school, by mother tongue ( ) of the pupil (Table N), or by elementary school (Table M). The number "withdrawn" indicates the frequency of student withdrawal prior to final examinations: many weak and failing students do not return, of course, in the following academic year. The "no response" entries represent numbers of eligible students known to have been in the grade, for whom final academic standings were not available. Proportions of "No Response" were roughly comparable as between the populations of various secondary schools, with the exception of separate schools, (rural Grades Nine and Ten; see ), where records were most frequently incomplete, even for current enrolments. Tables NR and MR represent the conversion of this data to relative frequency distribution by percentages. Tables NT and MT, together with their relative frequency conversions NTR and MTR present the same data for the first year of Grade Ten (i.e. students repeating the grade were excluded, as they were in Grade Nine).

Tables NR and NTR document, rather strikingly, the effects of the disadvantaged position of French students. While total



passing percentages are not directly comparable, strictly speaking, due to the unknown bias represented by the "no response" figures, the latter are so small, the number of students so large, and the differences so great as to be fully convincing. While 83.2% of all students whose mother tongue was English are known to have successfully completed their first year in Grade Nine, over the six year period audited, only 52.2% of the French group had a comparable achievement.( ) Such differences, of course, are even more meaningful in the light of the very great concessions, and special considerations afforded the French students: many ~~of them~~ - occasionally a majority - of those who "passed" on record, actually failed their final examinations( ). Students whose mother tongue was neither French nor English were comparable in performance to the English students. As might have been anticipated, the success of French students in private bilingual secondary schools was considerably greater than in the public secondary schools, although not on a par with that of English students in the English language schools.

Tables MR and MTR, by re-sorting the same student population, on the basis of elementary schooling rather than mother tongue, give a much clearer picture of the weakness within the French speaking group. While the success in public secondary schools of the graduates from the two "town" bilingual separate schools (Immaculée Conception and Sacré-Coeur) was roughly comparable to that of the public school graduates, or the

( )

( )



equally strong group from the English separate school (St Patrick's), and was only slightly less than that achieved by members of the same group at the bilingual private schools, more than half of all students from the "suburban" and "rural" schools failed or withdrew from their first year in Grade Nine. Moreover, of those who did pass, who subsequently repeated Grade Nine successfully, or who entered after Grade Nine in a bilingual school, a further thirty to forty percent failed or withdrew in their first year of Grade Ten.

What becomes very clear is simply that the gap between earlier community and school experience and the demands of the public secondary school setting is so great, and problems of transition are so manifold and complex, that the move is almost an insurmountable barrier for the majority of all rural French-speaking students.

A careful reading of these tables will also suggest:

- (1) the success of the English Catholic separate school,
- (2) the declining use of private bilingual secondary institutions,
- (3) the greater retentive power of the diversified programme (1962 and subsequent years. See     ), and differences in passing grades (ie 1st or 2nd and 3rd or 4th) reflecting differences in passing rates.

Such differences in academic achievement during the early secondary years, while strongly supporting the hypothesis of a serious rupture within the school system, offer only a suggestion of differences in mortality and survival through later grades. In order to provide such a view over





the longer period, it is necessary to search the completed secondary school careers of a reasonably large and heterogeneous student group. The cohort years of grade nine entry 1959 and 1960 and 1961 were selected for analysis, since later annual groups had not even reached grade 12 at the time of the research. Moreover, these cohort groups were enrolled in the "old" programme; while analysis of trends under the new programme might have been of greater current value, it would neither have been possible to trace students beyond grade ten, assuming that at least two cohort years would be required, nor would it have been possible to assume that the first use of the diversified curricula would be indicative of long-run patterns.

Table "O" summarizes, by year, the progress of these students through the schools. The table controls for mother tongue and for school of entry in grade nine: "bilingual School" denotes private Catholic Secondary Schools and Rural Separate Schools inclusively. The total "N" includes all those of common mother tongue who enrolled in the designated group of schools--in grade nine for the first time--in the year given. For each subsequent year, the placement of the residual from that initial population is traced out by grade (successful pupils in grade level listed; all others under "repeating", save those for whom data data was unavailable) and by school (many pupils changed schools during their secondary career.)



A review of these tables offers some idea of the continuing outflux of students from the bilingual schools, a movement not reciprocated from the public schools, whence only a few pupils return. By comparison with the English speaking population, the higher mortality of the French, at virtually all levels, in both language systems, becomes equally apparent.

Table "OS" summarizes data for the four largest groups of students in the cohort years 1959, 1960. While information on the movement between school systems is suppressed here, the long run differences in success and mortality are made more obvious. "R" columns contain "repeating" populations: "S" columns show the number of "successful" students (those who were in the expected grade on the basis of year of entry. Percentage figures are in terms of total original cohort population: percentages for students whose grade was unknown are omitted. The terminal effect of grade twelve is quite apparent for those who entered in Bilingual schools: both cohort groups show a marked decline in retention, between the fourth and fifth academic years, which is not comparable with the modest reduction in enrollment of English speaking students.

Two patterns suggested by this table, however, are particularly striking. First, although tables M and N indicated that the French students registering in grade 9 of the Bilingual schools were considerably more successful than their confrères in the public institutions, the evidence here is that by the fourth academic year, this difference had been levelled. Of the 1959 cohort, almost the same proportions



of each original group remained, although there were a larger number of repeaters among those who began secondary schooling in English. Of the 1960 cohort, a somewhat larger proportion of those originally registered in the public institutions remained, and the proportions of "successful" students were nearly identical.

The compression of the two cohort years, with control for ethnicity ( ) confirms the extraordinary and continuing high rate of mortality for French speaking students. Whereas nearly two thirds of the original group of 139 English speaking students survived to the final year of the programme (62.6%), less than one fifth of the French speaking students were still enrolled (18.6%)!

It was argued earlier that each route through the school system implied a somewhat unique set of problems: in addition, it is clear that the same choice of secondary courses and schools may have a very different impact upon students of dissimilar community background. The degree of congruity between ecological, linguistic and economic factors has made it possible to locate the major differences in terms of elementary school enrolment, without thereby attaching great explanatory value to intra-school differences. As was emphasized in the preceding section, considerable differences among the bilingual elementary schools may be observed, but these are hardly of such an order as to account, for example, for the differential early survival rates of "rural" and "town" students. The latter must be viewed as a function of a whole set of differences including the frequent retention of the better French students in the separate





nine and ten, or a private school, and the effect of extra-scholastic factors upon linguistic and social adjustment to the public school. If the town school graduates are more successful, it may be in part because of differences as over against the rural schools, but it is also largely "accidental" that the effects of the bilingual elementary school are to a certain extent "offset" for the small number of users in English dominated central Kapuskasing. ( ) What is more important, however, has been the demonstration of the disadvantaged position of the French students, taken as a group: such has been the chief aim of this section. It remains now only to explore some of the community's efforts to find a solution for these problems.

( ) See



SECTION V:

PARALLELISM OR INTEGRATION:

SHORT-TERM PLANNING



## V PARALLELISM OR INTEGRATION: SHORT-TERM PLANNING

A simple, objective re-statement of the basic educational problem, in structural terms, can provide a common point of reference for the divergent critiques of important religious, ethnic and occupational groupings. Without implying that the public secondary schools are somehow "inadequate" to the needs of the French community, or that the separate schools are "failing" in the task of preparing students for these institutions, - which views would require validation with reference to distinct value systems - it is yet possible to reassert, with considerable certitude, the radical lack of continuity between the bilingual elementary school and the public high school. Although formally related as elements of an integrated school system, these two institutions are locally realized in a disjunction which imposes serious systematic barriers to educational achievement - and, later, occupational opportunity - for the French-speaking Canadian of Northern Ontario. All observers in Kapuskasing agree upon this fundamental fact. The gravity and persistence of the problems have been documented in the preceding section: it will be important now, however, to look briefly at some of the efforts toward solution, and to assess their effectiveness at the present time.

Two sorts of change are possible: changes in the structure of the Ontario school system itself, occurring at a Provincial level, or, alternatively, adaptive measures introduced within, or even outside, the school system, initiated at the level of the community,





in response to problems defined locally. The Kapuskasing community is well aware of the possibilities for this second sort of change: failure and loss of so many French-speaking students is a "scandal" to the English, "injustice" to the French; both agree, however, that 'something must be done'. If serious educational difficulties persist, it is neither because the community is unaware nor because it is unconcerned; rather, it is the absence of coordinated, long range planning which limits the effectiveness of effort spent in diverse, and often opposed directions.

It was suggested earlier that "bilingual" education in Ontario faced a choice of two fundamentally diverse perspectives for development: parallelism or integration. Parallel growth would imply the emergence of an hierarchical, integrated and independent French language or bilingual school system, affording adequate diversity and accessibility at all levels. Integration would involve the optional provision of bilingual curricula in various branches, at all levels, while retaining freedom of movement to all parts of the publicly financed system, and to the wider continental, English language field of specialized technical and higher educational facilities. The ambiguity of planning in the bilingual elementary schools has already been cited as reflecting a lack of consensus in the pursuit of such long-range goals; the same conflict of effort is evident at the secondary level. Short term planning reflects compromise, where dissention and lack of knowledge create an uncertain balance of



power in both French and English communities; each plans without reference to the work of the other.

It is possible, nevertheless, to single out three lines of development which are foci of attention and problem-solving effort: (1) the establishment and strengthening of a private, "bilingual" secondary school system, (2) the introduction of adaptive measures within the public secondary schools to retain and aid effectively the products of the bilingual elementary schools, and (3) the development of an intermediary secondary stage, consisting of bilingual grades Nine and Ten. The first of these efforts leans clearly in the direction of parallelism, the second toward integration; it will be seen later, that the function of the third alternative is as yet in controversy. All of these experiments <sup>at the level of</sup> ~~within~~ the community are carried out within, or outside the existing formal provincial structure. Changes in this school structure itself will be explored following an attempt to sketch the three important forms of community action, and to assess their effectiveness for the Kapuskasing District:

#### The Bilingual Secondary School: An Experiment in Parallelism

"N'avons-nous jamais été frappés par la fierté qu'ont les autres peuples pour leur pays et leur drapeau, pour leurs traditions et leur langue.

Nous, Canadiens -français, nous perdons de plus en plus la fierté de notre race, et même le respect de notre langue qui est une langue universelle, parlée par plus de cent millions de gens."

"Radar" Vol. VI No 2  
(Student Publication, "Académie  
d'Youville, Kapuskasing.)





The costly and difficult development of the private secondary school - outside the provincially supported framework - is the strongest expression of religious and linguistic forces in education. Two such schools have developed in the Kapuskasing district, the Collège de Hearst, ( ) a boys' school and seminary, and the Académie d'Youville, a coeducational institution located in Central Kapuskasing. The former is operated by the Diocese of Hearst, the latter by Les Soeurs Grises de la Croix. Extensive local use is also made of other bilingual secondary schools, notably those at Hailebury, Ottawa and Sudbury.

The establishment of a private Catholic Secondary School at Kapuskasing was a direct outgrowth of earlier unsuccessful attempts to extend elementary bilingual schooling through Grades Nine and Ten. ( ) "The nuns were determined to have that school, to keep the children up to Grade Ten in a French-language system," recalled an English speaking mill executive. Following the collapse of the Ninth and Tenth Grades under the separate school board, the Grey Nuns began holding classes, at these levels, in the basement of the Immaculate Conception Church, under the title of "L' École Secondaire Catholique de Kapuskasing."

( ) This College, in affiliation with Laurentian University of Sudbury, also offers a four year B.A. French-language programme, which in 1964-5 contained some forty-five students in all.

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By 1960 a modest but quite attractive building had been completed on adjoining, church property and in September of that year classes were transferred to the new "Académie d'Youville", where they were joined by a number of ~~new~~ recruits from the senior bilingual elementary classes, and from the District High School. At this time, the school was under the direction of the extremely competent and well trained nun who later returned to Kapuskasing as principal of Immaculée Conception. ( ).

The opening of the school caused considerable concern to members of the English community, particularly those associated with the high school. "The first I heard of it was from M..... , (Chairman of separate school board) who called me in with the board I think it's wonderful for the Catholics to have a Catholic school up to Grade Eight, and then to mix in the high school. They have to learn to be one with the rest of Canada; to kill that segregation we must begin in high school," commented the mill executive who had been Chairman of the High School Board at the time.

One of the high school teachers who had been in the community for a number of years expressed her surprise in this way: "When the Académie was built, it was evident that they looked on the high school as 'English'. One girl in Grade Eleven said that the French should have 'their own' school. The idea that 'we should have our own school?' I had never thought of the school as the 'English school'."



Today, the Sisters maintain that the school was basically initiated in response to public demand. "The idea came from the people - Canadiens Francaise Catholique!" Many other observers maintained, however, that the school represented the work of the clergy supported by a small group of bourgeoisie. One bushworker made this point quite forcefully:

"One thing I feel funny about - we got a nice high school here; I don't see why we got the Académie. We spent lots of money at the high school; they learn both languages there. My boys will go to the high school. Students from the public high school have a better chance for a job! At the Académie it's mostly French, and for the rest, well I'm Catholic, but they pray and pray! The Church is pretty big, and when they want it, they get it, like a big company. Pressure for the Académie came from the Church, not from the people; at least, that's what people say. The workers would prefer to see their children going to the high school. If you're real Catholic you push your kids over there - to the Académie - but if you're a regular church goer, well you don't go for that stuff!"

If the clergy were indeed the prime movers in establishing the Académie, their motivation was not entirely religious. "The French clergy think the high school is well run, but will show a preference for private schools; this preference might stem as much from a 'French' point of view as from a 'religious' point of view," argued one senior French-speaking resident. The parish priests at Immaculée Conception were not slow to make the point themselves; "It is not purely a question of Catholic education; most French Canadian people feel that their children should get a thorough bilingual education."





Initially, strong support came from the élite of Kapuskasing: sons and daughters of the most successful commercial and professional families were to be counted in every grade. A very different group was recruited, as well, from the smaller communities along the highways; the more apt students were pressed by clergy and teachers, while others, less able were inclined toward the school through fear of liability in English language instruction or through a parent's desire for a more sheltered environ. Everywhere in Kapuskasing, informants, both French and English, asserted that the Académie had consistently been able to "skim off" the academic cream of French-speaking students, throughout the area; yet it is clear that from the beginning the student population of the Académie was quite heterogeneous, and that the relative weakness of the rural students, observed at the high school, was to be found here as well. As the present principal commented: "The students from out of town are not as good as the town students - both in French and English. Most of the students from Harty and Opasatika ( ) leave discouraged after Christmas." A survey of the inadequate student records at the Académie - which contain information on but a fraction of the cumulative student population - yielded data on some one hundred and twelve students who had left school completely prior to Grade Eleven, while another twenty-three had transferred to other schools, in the years from 1960-61. In a school with an annual total enrollment never

( ) Small French villages, similar to Fauquier, located between Kapuskasing and Hearst.





exceeding one hundred and fifty (one hundred and forty pupils in 1964-5 for Grades Nine to Twelve) this represents a sizeable mortality figure. ( ) A comparison of French-speaking students enrolled in the Ninth Grade at the Académie and at the District High School, in terms of the scores on a non-verbal test of academic aptitude, shows that the five year programmes are roughly comparable. ( )

The widespread belief among high school teachers that the French private school has "drained off" the most able French students is a result, in part, of the observable loss of a number of very able students, particularly from the town schools, although it remains true that many of the better students have continued to use the public high school. In part, however, it expresses a recognition of the changing character of the total French student population which is progressively flooded by those weaker <sup>pupils</sup> ~~students~~, many of them from rural areas, now retained in the diversified programme.

As expressed by the staff, who are in some degree, the owners and administrators as well, the aims of the private school

- ( ) The condition of the records at the Académie were such that it was virtually impossible to prepare meaningful quantitative data. OSR cards are not completed - many students come and go leaving no trace in the records: others who withdraw cannot be distinguished accurately from those who transfer since the records are not generally forwarded or updated.
- ( ) See table



are a simple extension of the interests of the separate schools, not only religious, but linguistic and disciplinary as well. "The first aim of the school is to make our students Catholic," one of the staff confirmed. Of course, this emphasis is reflected not only in ritual observance of prayers and church services, in the decor of the classroom, and in the emphasis, by poster and lecture, upon clerical "vocations", but in the treatment of other academic subjects. Several classes were asked to write essays in English, for the researchers. Although the topics did not have specifically religious connotation, the majority of the completed essays gave sacred interpretations of the suggested titles; the student magazines and year books showed the same emphasis. The level of composition skill, in both French and English, as evidenced in the essays and in student articles, was excellent.

If religious interests are paramount, the staff, in discussion, placed equal emphasis upon the importance of French language. The principal summed up objectives in this way: "We tell them that they (the pupils) have to know one language as perfectly as possible - that should be their mother tongue, otherwise they're adopted! When I was here before, ( ) they wanted to speak English, but now they speak French at home. I don't know who's telling them - the schools. We're advised to tell the students to speak French; even in our own community we never speak English."





Another older nun emphasized that while the religious aims were primary, the second goal was that of "bilingualism", defined as "French first and English second".

Sister principal initially reported that all subjects were taught in English except English and Latin (those subjects in which the Grade Thirteen papers could be written in French), but confided that the students had great difficulty with the English texts. "We have to explain in French; they think in French, and there is a loss of time there." Seven students, selected at random from the Grade Nines, however, uniformly reported that only Mathematics, Science and English language were taught in English. It is apparent that the teachers here, as in the elementary schools, tended to over-report the use of English as a medium of instruction. One of the nuns did admit a shift toward increased use of French: "soon only the English language subjects will be taught in English, when we get French texts for the other subjects."

Several members of the teaching staff were extremely weak in oral English, to the extent of experiencing difficulty in the interview. One nun from Quebec gave voice to her own problem in these words: "Here we have no opportunity to speak together in English. We have good ideas in teaching English, but when we come to speak English we don't know - we are embarrassed some times!"





Somewhat dissenting views on language instruction were expressed by a younger member of the staff, a native of Northern Ontario, currently teaching English language to several classes: "I stress English because I teach it. I tell the pupils they need it. Some people believe that we could have schools all French, but I don't believe that. In order for a French Canadian to survive economically, he has to be bilingual - in any area of science. A graduate of a course all in French would have to go to Quebec. The girls said that science should be taught in French, but the boys argued no - they want jobs! Even at the mill last week, in an office, the boss sent out a message that he didn't want to hear any French spoken." This same teacher was the moderator of a student magazine, which, she felt, should have contained more English; Sister Principal, however, disagreed, reminding her colleague in the presence of the researchers that the Académie was a "French" school.

It is true that the Académie, like the separate schools, is essentially a French language institution: the "bilingual" schools are moving toward a situation in which English literature and composition may be the only subjects taught in English. While mathematics and physical sciences have been given special attention in English, for obvious reasons, French is now somewhat more in use in these areas at the elementary level, and might soon be more extensively employed at the Académie. To the degree that this shift is progressively realized, the "bilingual" schools



move into a position directly analogous to the high schools, where "Francais" remains the only subject taught in French.( ) In terms of instructional usage, the Académie is only slightly more "bilingual" than its public counterpart. Yet, there need be little doubt that the repeated statement of "full bilingualism" as a major educational objective is an honest one. One of the most influential separate school principals, a cleric, gave a very articulate expression to the linguistic aims shared by his colleagues at the Académie: "We French Canadians have always been interested in education; but it was felt by the great majority of the common people that advanced studies was the privilege and duty of the élite. While the common people found in agriculture an outlet to a meagre but decent living, education beyond the three R's was considered for their children a luxury.

But this age has passed. Parents feel that their offspring must achieve higher standards nowadays, and for this reason are greatly interested in secondary university education for their children. But these same people believe in granting a bilingual education to their descendants. They acknowledge that the learning of English is a must in this English province, but they also insist that their children receive a thorough knowledge of their mother tongue."

A small number of partisans, both lay and religious, distributed through all social classes, would favour a more exclusive use of French, and their weight is consistently behind



any shift in that direction. For the majority of those involved in the Catholic school here, as at the elementary level, however, the increased instructional use of French implies a diversion of tactics rather than of goals. In an environment which emphasizes ever more strongly the educational and economic utility of English, the shift to an even wider use of French within the Catholic schools can best be understood as a defensive reaction. Such a shift, moreover, occurs not without considerable internal ambivalence over the uneasy reconciliation of a recognized need to provide minimal skill in English, and the strong desire to develop a consciously literary and articulate French speaking élite.

The linguistic impact of French-language secondary schooling appears to vary considerably, dependent upon a number of factors related to family, to place of residence, to aptitudes and to the value orientation of the student. A number of the students speak excellent English, and compose well on paper; others were unable or unwilling to carry on sufficient English conversation for the arrangement of interviews.

Closely associated with the religious aims of this school, if not totally to be identified with them, is the goal of "character formation", which entails certain standards of dress, manners and general deportment, modesty and obedience. At this secondary level, the differences between public and private school students are even more marked than those reported earlier in respect of the elementary grades. The neatly uniformed students of the Académie





present a very different image from the more heterogenous public school group, and their deportment, in and out of class, is a matter of considerable pride to the staff: "There is a feeling of competition between our pupils and the high school students: our students are often told that they behave better, as for example at the recent centennial tree planting ceremony, and in terms of their dress at school. They could be laughed at but they look like gentlemen!" We have good pupils as far as discipline is concerned. I never saw two boys so much as pushing around. My class is like my family: we have more individual teaching; we have more time for the pupils." Another of the Sisters formulated her conception of the difference in this way: "We Catholics look after each pupil. Many parents send their children to the high school because they have no money, but parents don't want them to associate with Protestants; although some children like it there;— they are more free. Three came back from the high school this fall; two were in Grade Ten of the Occupational Course. They did not like it; they wanted our terminal course. They said 'we can't stay there!'"

The Principal of a nearby elementary school offered a more thorough rationalization of this paternalistic environment which the bilingual schools endeavor to maintain: "After a long and arduous fight, we have obtained a bilingual system of schools recognized by the Department up to Grade Eight. We are now endeavouring to extend this bilingual system up to Grade Thirteen. The present academic course in the so-called bilingual high school doesn't fulfill this task at all. In the first place, these



schools are bilingual only in name; all subject matters are taught in English, except French. Secondly, our pupils feel awkward in such surroundings. This is not an accusation on any particular group of teachers or pupils, it is only a question of mentality. Our pupils simply can't overcome this mentality of shyness, of being transplanted in a completely new and sometimes very complex situation. Finally, our pupils are asked to do double work or double time. Not only do they have to excel in English and the other subject matters, but also they have to excel in their mother tongue. These pupils must feel and get special care, attention and encouragement. Otherwise they lag behind and finally drop out of school!"

While they have no direct experience of the public high school, the Sisters make the most of those few students who return to the Académie, and emphasize to their pupils that the high school atmosphere is an undisciplined and hostile one.( ) "I know that at the high school there is some antagonism toward French pupils. It's like being black or white. They're prejudiced! That's also the view of the English pupils," one nun reported. Reciprocal misconceptions and ignorance persist in the absence of any contact between the two secondary schools. Only two staff members from the high school had visited the private school, officially, during the period covered by the research. One, a senior teacher of French, who was native-French speaking and a prominent member of the Catholic community, came to invite the





staff and students to the performance of a Moliere play to be presented at the public school by a company from Montreal. He admitted, however, that he had been received with suspicion: "the nuns thought I was coming to recruit!" The other visit was in part an outcome of the present research. None of the staff of the Académie had visited the high school, nor had they met any of that school's staff, with the exception of the French teacher mentioned above. Although teams from the high school occasionally competed at the Académie, the latter never visited the former. Students reported a minimum of contact between the student bodies, although a polite exchange of announcements of social and athletic functions was maintained.

The comfortable air of domestic serenity, security, intimacy, independence and seclusion which the Sisters work so hard to create, and to convey, conceals nevertheless a host of very deep and threatening long run problems. Satisfactory solutions have not yet been found, and may prove to lie outside the present framework of the private school. Perhaps the most urgent of these dilemmas is the need for a total redefinition of the role of the Académie, in the light of Ontario's recently reorganized academic programme.

"We have tried the system of private secondary schools. These have been maintained with great sacrifices by both parents and teachers. On the whole they were highly efficient but could not compete with the regular High Schools because of lack of funds





in most cases. And now these schools are faced with the Robarts Plan. The private schools can offer only the Arts and Science course. We shall be losing over sixty percent of our pupils to the technical and commercial courses. I fear very much that this will be the coup de grace to the private school and at the same time to bilingual secondary schools."

In these blunt words, one member of the French clergy, now teaching in a bilingual elementary school, assessed the impact of Ontario's new diversified programme.

It has been everywhere characteristic of the urbanization of society that diversification and specialization have been accompanied by increased centralization: the diversification of secondary schooling has had the same effect in extending the traditional geographic base of the high school. The whole character of the secondary school is changing, throughout Ontario, and it is in terms of the new form that possibilities for French language instruction appear ever more remote to observers in Kapuskasing.

Although numerous "vocational" schools had earlier been equipped to offer technical and commercial courses in particular localities, the Ontario programme prior to 1962 consisted basically of the five-year <sup>course</sup> ~~programme~~ in Arts and Sciences, which served all students oriented to tertiary levels, and of a two year terminal programme offering a down-graded arts and sciences curriculum to age promoted students, or others incapable of, or



not motivated to the five year alternative. Within the five year stream, the "junior matriculation" at Twelfth Grade had a recognized terminal status. Exceptional terminal course students were permitted a repetition of Grade Ten in the five year stream, as a second choice mechanism for recovering the most capable terminal students and rectifying streaming errors.

The reorganized programme, introduced generally at Grade Nine in the academic year 1962-63, and to progressively higher grades in subsequent years, recognized not only the need for differentiation of courses along vocational lines, but the need, as well, for diverse programmes, within any field, meeting the needs of students whose aptitudes or higher educational goals made divergent demands. The outline of the reorganized programme (Section IV) , shows the way in which both requirements have been met through the establishment of three major "branches" within which students, streamed by ability and educational goals, (with an apparent emphasis on the former), work in programmes ranked by both longitude and intensity.

What is apparent, as well, from this outline, is the enormously increased demand made upon specialization of both staff and teaching facilities within the secondary school. Throughout the province, selected schools are being nourished at the expense of adjacent institutions. The "local high school" is vanishing. As secondary school districts have been amalgamated in effect if not in name, a single large and diversified school



has come to serve a more extended population, fed by neighbouring communities and by satellite secondary schools which retain perhaps the arts and sciences programme. In Ontario, the "rural" secondary school is progressively a regional institution, necessarily supplanting a larger number of earlier and identical local schools.

At Kapuskasing, this has meant a tremendous outlay in terms of building, and the recruitment of specialized teachers, at the same time that the school, at one time similar to those at Hearst and Smooth Rock Falls, ( ) has extended service as far as these communities. Students are transported daily, from within a fifty mile radius, to make use of the diversified opportunities with the Kapuskasing School. A critical feature of this development, and of projected growth, seems to be precisely that expansion takes the form of increased specialization rather than replication of personnel or equipment. When additional space is required, this increasingly takes the form of specialized teaching "labs" whether for geography, language instruction, carpentry or electronics. That this is not true to the same extent, in staff enlargement, is due primarily to recruitment difficulties and the growing necessity of absorbing large numbers of inexperienced and unspecialized novices. Kapuskasing will shortly be required to choose between continued expansion or the establishment of another school: what is certain, however, is that a new school would not replicate, but would, rather, extend

( ) At one time the latter offered Grade Thirteen





specialization by focusing on one or two brands of instruction. To the extent that the full potential of the reorganized, or "diversified" programme is thus realized, it would seem to provide an opportunity to retain a maximum of students, at all levels of ability and within all areas of academic and vocational interest.

Prior to these developments, the private Catholic school, whether bilingual or English, had been conceived as a duplication of facilities, and, therefore, as fully competitive on all but the religious or linguistic grounds, upon which the appeal for special populations was based. Kapuskasing's Académie, in 1960, represented just such a replication of the high school programme; the student who made a choice between the District High School and the Private School may have had religious, linguistic, financial or other social dimensions to consider - but he was, in theory, electing to participate in the same programme differentially realized within the two schools. In so far as every French Catholic student could presumably have used the Académie, the secondary schools were seen as directly competitive for this population.

Today the entire frame of reference has shifted: the changes of programme outlined above have created a system in which public and private institutions are now radically differentiated both in terms of the programmes offered, and in terms of the populations which they can serve, and for which they can compete.

There are at least two obvious but important reasons for the inability of the private schools to share in that



diversification of programme effected by the large public high schools. The first, of course, is financial: in Ontario, the principle of separate religious schools is recognized at the elementary level, while continuation of religious schooling beyond the Eighth or Tenth Grade is not supported either by grants or by tax concessions. The establishment of a private school is generally marked by heavy investment of one of the teaching orders, or the diocese, by rather heavy public subscription and continued tuition, or by both of these. The Collège at Hearst was built largely through subscription, for example, whereas the Académie was financed initially by the Soeurs Grises. Where the older programme required relatively undifferentiated teaching spaces, supplemented by a few specialized items such as gyms, chemistry and physics labs, or typing rooms, the private schools were able to compete: differences as over against the public schools were largely matters of scale, i.e. quantitative rather than qualitative. Today, the high school represents an enormous investment in special equipment, from the electronics laboratory to the files of maps and projection equipment used for the presentation of geography; more important, the effectiveness of the diversified programme is largely dependent upon such facilities, and upon a staff specially trained and experienced in their use. Expansion of private facilities in this direction has been prohibitively expensive, and was not suggested, at any time, by Catholic educational planners in the Kapuskasing area.





Secondly, it is apparent that successful diversification necessarily depends upon accompanying growth. By dividing the student population along religious or ethnic lines, and by replicating facilities, diversification and the resulting extension of educational diversity are inhibited; a broader geographic base seems impossible, since students cannot be transported, daily, much beyond the present fifty mile radius of Kapuskasing. It would appear, then, that even if the financing were possible, an insufficient density of Catholic or of French-speaking population within the Kapuskasing district would dictate against full implementation of the new programme.

In Kapuskasing, as elsewhere, the Catholic schools - partly in impotence, but partly in ignorance of the rapid and deep currents of change in which they are engulfed - continue to offer the "academic" or "classical" (five year Arts and Science) programme exclusively. A full definition of this disadvantaged position of the Catholic school will depend upon the priorities assigned to various choices. If it is assumed that a student will choose first in terms of a programme suited to his academic capabilities and vocational interests, then the private school can compete only for the five year Arts and Sciences students. In an area such as Kapuskasing, where the French population is largely a working class group, oriented to a shorter term technical education, the Académie could serve only a comparatively small population. Primary religious and linguistic goals,





extensive to the whole group, become largely unattainable, while internal differences are accentuated by the continued replacement from the town middle classes of a small élite who attendate the thinking of clergy, teachers and bourgeoisie.

If, on the other hand, it is assumed that considerations of religion and language are prior to those of streaming, then the Académie, or the Collège will continue to compete for all students, or, according to its capacity, for the most able or wealthy prospects. To a large extent the latter situation prevails in Kapuskasing. L'Académie d'Yeuville continues to offer a two year "terminal" programme which is no longer officially recognized, and, on this basis, to solicit students who desire "technical" or "commercial" training. All work in this programme is carried out in one meagerly equipped classroom where Grades Nine and Ten are combined under a single instructress. In addition, a strong residual bias against technical education is exploited by teachers both at the Académie and at the bilingual elementary schools: the "academic" programme is for all those who are capable and who aim at higher education. Technical or commercial training is a refuge for less apt students, and is defined as restricting possibilities for further education. Several local Eighth Grades, for example, were warned that if they wished to go to University they would have to select a "classical" (Arts and Sciences) programme. While this bias compounds the problem of schol and course selection, it serves to maintain a mythical supremacy of Arts and Sciences, and thus to locate the bilingual schools in a more favourable



competitive position than would otherwise be the case. Defined in this way, as potentially serving all French Catholic students, the private school is still acutely disadvantaged in so far as it can now offer a minimum of the benefits of diversification.

Numerous cases were observed in which students of extremely weak academic aptitude, as suggested by Otis tests and by elementary school performance, were enrolled in the five-year programme at bilingual schools. Where success and continued training might have been possible in the less strenuous four year programme, or in another branch better suited to the pupil's aptitudes, failure and withdrawal, or transfer to the public high school, demonstrated repeatedly the inability of the private schools, as presently constituted, to deal with these students.( )

To summarize, the private school faces, on the one hand, the alternative of serving a very small segment of the total student population, perhaps, ultimately not more than twenty-five percent,( ) and probably much less, or, on the other hand, of functioning for the entire French community which is then effectively denied all the advantages of the diversified programme. These assets are, of course, particularly critical for the large body of slower learners, and of students oriented to short-term education. Clearly, the earlier situation in which bilingual

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( ) This is of course a crude estimate, but experience in other areas of Ontario suggests that as much as 60% of the student population will opt for courses other than the A. & S., where public education in the new programme has been relatively thorough; if the four year stream is not offered, then 30% might represent a maximum potential enrollment for any private school system. Given competition with the High Schools even in this branch, actual enrollment might be expected to be considerably less





schools were almost directly competitive with the public institutions has been thoroughly destroyed by the radical process of reorganization in which Catholic schools have not shared. Barring further structural changes, the French community must recognize that, in the future, the great majority of all French speaking students must use the public high schools or be denied the benefits of diversified educational opportunity. In this context, the systematic barriers to successful transition from the bilingual elementary schools can be assessed as more significant and the disadvantaged position of the French students becomes fully apparent.

Adequate staffing has been, and continues, as an almost unsurmountable problem for the Académie. When the new school was first opened, the staff were, generally, adequate in qualifications; very shortly, however, the upgrading of elementary school principalships placed a severe strain upon the limited resources of the order, as the best of the teachers from the Académie were dispersed through bilingual schools across the north. Failure to deploy the best qualified nuns in this way would have endangered clerical control of education in numerous small communities. By 1964-65 the staff of the Académie consisted of six Sisters and one male lay teacher, qualified as follows:





	<u>Highest education</u>	<u>Teacher Training</u>	<u>Presently Teaching</u>
1. Male Lay Teacher	Gr.13 (equivalent)	Phys.Ed.Instructor training- Military France or Corsica)	All Grades (boys' Phys.Ed.)
2. Sister A	Gr. 12	Elementary School 2nd Class Certificate	Gr. 9 % 10 (terminal)
3. Sister B	Gr. 12	Nil	Gr. 10
4. Sister C	Gr. 12	Elementary School Certificate 2nd class	Gr. 9
5. Sister D	Gr. 13	Elementary School Certificate Standard I	Gr. 9
6. Sister E	B.A. (Ottawa)	O.C.E. Permanent H.S.A.	Gr. 11
7. Sister F	B.A. (Ottawa)	O.C.E. H.S.A.	Gr. 12

At the Académie, Grades Nine and Ten have been treated as they would be within an elementary school, where teachers are not required to have the University degree, or teacher training at the Ontario College of Education, (both required by the public high schools). Of the five teachers handling these grades within the Académie, not one possesses the minimum qualifications which would be required for employment at Kapuskasing District High School. While the teachers in the two senior grades are qualified, in terms of the provincial standards, their problems can be made quickly apparent by a comparison with the tasks of the public



school functionaries. Where the teacher at Kapuskasing District High School prepares a smaller number of lessons in one or two subjects of specialization, to be taught on rotation, the Sisters at the Académie must prepare, for a single presentation, virtually the entire course of instruction for Grade Eleven or Twelve. Some rotation is employed, but not on a scale comparable to the public school. On the other hand, of course, this facilitates the kind of close supervision and personal contact with students at which the private school aims. While there is a considerable sharing of administrative burdens among all public high school teachers, the Grade Twelve teacher at the Académie who doubles as principal is certain to find more serious dilemmas in resolving the diverse demands upon her time. On each of the numerous occasions on which the present researchers visited the school, the principal was forced to absent herself from class, for example; this situation did not arise at the high school. Unless the bilingual schools were enlarged considerably - assuming, for the moment, the possibility of recruitment - the few staff members who are qualified would still be at a disadvantage in terms of work load.

There is little evidence of any effort to upgrade staff: in the fall of 1965, the principal explained that a young Sister had been appointed to the staff prior to completion of her University work in Sudbury, and without the benefit of teacher training. "She was nearly finished, and there was no use to keep her there for one or two courses, eh?"



Throughout the community at large, however, the qualifications of the staff at the Académie are not known. Many French speaking supporters asserted that they "knew" the Sisters to be well qualified, but could provide no specific information when pressed. "The teachers at the Académie are well qualified, we know what their qualifications are," one separate school board member asserted defensively.

Another major problem, less well concealed by the private school, has been the absence of Grade Thirteen and the difficulty of graduate placement. Although the programme at the Académie, as at the Collège in Hearst, is a five-year programme, only the first four years are offered. The departmental (standardized) examinations of Grade Thirteen, until 1965 generally accepted as entrance requirements at all but the two bilingual universities in Ontario, have long been written almost entirely in English.( ) Instruction at Grade Thirteen level, moreover, traditionally demands the use of specialists in the subjects offered. In the absence of qualified teachers, and faced with the prospect of conducting the final year entirely in English, the private schools have preferred to terminate instruction at the end of Grade Twelve. Until recently, the acceptance of Grade Twelve graduates at Ontario Normal Schools lent additional support. Availability of

- ( ) Very recent amendments-effective in 1966 - admit the possibility of French language papers in geography and history, as well as in Latin,<sup>in</sup> which French language examination has been possible since 1961. Français has been written in French for a number of years.





an année première at several centres such as Hearst keeps the possibility of university entrance open even for those students who do not wish to face Grade Thirteen in the public schools. Nevertheless, those present graduates who aim at higher education must either transfer to the public high school or restrict severely their selection of tertiary institutions. Students who aim at elementary school teaching careers face a similar problem of dual transfer.

Grade Twelve is still envisaged as a sort of terminal point, however, by a majority of the French clergy and teachers in the area; in part, this may be a reflection of their own earlier experience. At the Académie the "graduation" from Grade Twelve is a more elaborate affair than the comparable leave-taking after Grade Thirteen in the public schools. Graduates wear academic gowns and caps, receive scrolls and graduation photos, and benefit from an address by the Bishop of Hearst, as they prepare to move out "into the world". Such ceremonial serves to mask the essentially inconclusive character of the programme offered, and to create the illusion of an independent and contained secondary system.

Prior to the research in the academic year 1964-65, three "graduating classes" had left the Académie: the distribution of these graduates at the time of the study ( ) is given in table R . Although the numbers involved are small, several trends may yet be discerned. First, it is of interest that four of those who

( ) Based on a report published for the student body by the staff of the Académie in "Radar" Vol. VI No. 3



	<u>Graduating Year:</u>	<u>1961-2</u>	<u>1962-3</u>	<u>1963-4</u>
<u>Employed</u>				
Teaching in Bilingual Elementary School (in or near Kapuskasing)		4	2	
Spruce Falls (Mill)			2	2
Clerical			1	
Secretarial	2			
Technician			1	
H.E.P.C. (Ontario)			1	
Nurses' Aide			2	
<u>Unemployed (living in Kapuskasing)</u>				
Single			1	2
Married	1			
<u>Secondary Schools</u>				
Grade 13 K.D.H.S.			4	1
Grade 13 Ottawa			1	2
Grade 13 Haileybury				6
Commercial Course (1 year) at K.D.H.S.				1
<u>Nursing Training</u>				
Ottawa				1
Sudbury				1
<u>Normal School (Sudbury-bilingual)</u>			3	1
<u>University</u>				
Ottawa	1		2	
Hearst (Laurentian)			2	
Religious Order (S.G.C.)				1
<hr/>				
TOTAL		8	22	18

1965 DISTRIBUTION OF GRADUATES FROM  
KAPUSKASING'S ACADEMIE, BY PRESENT  
OCCUPATION AND YEAR OF GRADUATION.

TABLE "R"



graduated from Grade Twelve in 1963 were still enrolled in Grade Thirteen at the district high school two years later, in 1965, and that the subsequent graduates, apparently taking note of this, migrated almost in entirety (eight of nine) to private Catholic institutions at Haileybury and Ottawa. A number of this group may be presumed preparing for normal school training which will now require completion of the Thirteenth Grade. Moreover, if all those attempting Grade Thirteen are presumed successful, and their number is added to those already having successfully finished their programme, the total suggests that only forty percent of all graduates completed or will complete the five year programme in which they were enrolled: an effective "drop out" rate of some sixty percent between Grades Twelve and Thirteen! The figures are crude - some presently employed, from the earlier graduating classes, may have completed Grade Thirteen; others who are now enrolled may fail to do so - but the overall estimate can be taken as a reasonably reliable index. The placement of so many graduates in bilingual centres such as Sudbury, Haileybury or Ottawa, suggests the extent to which choices of tertiary schooling are made within a "closed" system.

In sum, there is a good deal of ambivalence built into the offering of four years of the five-year programme: those who aim at University work are forced, ultimately, into the competitive Grade Thirteen situation after twelve years in the very different setting of the bilingual private schools: those who intend to terminate schooling at the end of Grade Twelve might presumably be favoured by the four-year programme, which





could retain a greater proportion of marginal students.

The absence of standardized testing, the implications of which were suggested in Section III, is another problem faced by the Académie. In view of the necessity of continuity with the public school at the crucial Grade Thirteen level, the coordination of instruction and of examination standards in preceding grades becomes more critical. As in the case of the elementary schools, the pattern of staff recruitment, the absence of standardized bilingual achievement testing instruments and the lack of any liaison with the high schools seem to dictate against the probability of such uniformity. It must be emphasized, however, that the present research did not attempt such a comparison, and that, in the absence of any objective data, the question of course content and examination standards must remain open. What is suggested here is simply the possibility that the few coordinating mechanisms which do exist - common course outlines, texts and periodic visits of the inspectors - may be counterbalanced by isolating forces similar to those evidenced at the elementary level.

*Student*

Recruitment has been a perennial problem for the Académie, as for Hearst, and there is evidence that Ontario's "reorganized programme" has already introduced even greater strains. Enrollment at the Académie had declined slightly between the academic years 1963-4, and 1964-5, but the loss of more than thirty pupils to the high school, from the early grades, marked a sharper drop in enrollment for 1965-6. While in part this reflects the recent loss of a competitive base as over against the high school, it is suggestive, too, of a certain "disillusionment", a growing awareness, among the bourgeoisie, of the whole



set of problems sketched above. As one French parent, a member of the separate school board, argued: "The enrollment is way down this year. I took my daughter out of Grade Nine at the Académie because they have no discipline there. The nuns try to be "modern" and they don't know how: it's not a job for a woman." Another observer, an English speaking Catholic professionally involved in education, reported that "Many students from the Académie were transferred to the high school this year. Academic standards are not what the parents expected! When they started, they had well qualified teachers, but now it doesn't seem to be working out." One parent who continues to make use of the Académie expressed his growing fear and concern in this way: "I send my sons to the Académie because of my conception of family, religion and the French language, but I admit that it's inferior to the high school. The Académie doesn't have the money to put into labs, or to pay for qualified teachers, such as are available at the high school. I might be sacrificing my sons - I don't know."

In earlier years the close and active collaboration of the town middle class had assured a flow of students from the town bilingual schools, supported by the teachers and by local clergy who visited classrooms and homes alike, in support of the school. As one French teacher described the process, "The Académie is skimming off the good students: pressure is exerted to have the student go to a private school. The Church presses parents, as do the staff of the elementary school: not





'you should go', but 'It's a must!' " A number of parents had concealed plans for sending their children to the public high schools from both priests and teachers for fear of the pressures which might be applied.

In addition, a large proportion of the parents who made use of private schools had earlier made a considerable investment in their establishment. When the Collège at Hearst was projected, each parish in the study area was canvassed by the priest, who solicited in person: working class families contributed anywhere from one hundred to three hundred dollars, on the average.

In the rural areas, the Grey Nuns and parish priests became recruiting agents for the Académie and the Collège: at Smooth Rock Falls, for example, the priest demanded "letters of permission" ( ) from all parents planning to send children to the Smooth Rock Continuation School.

In the efforts to bolster failing recruitment, there appears to be a decline in alleged earlier selectivity: while still making every effort to draw the "best" students from the senior bilingual grades, the Académie has accepted a large number of very weak students, and a number of failing pupils from the district high school. If this assists in solving the problem of filling classrooms, it accentuates the disadvantages of the smaller scale, and the lack of streaming. As Table "U" shows clearly, ~~that~~ the range of academic aptitudes contained within a single class is far greater at the Académie than for any of the Grade Nines  
(Arts and Sciences)

- ( ) Letters requesting permission of the Bishop for children to attend a public school, showing reason why a Catholic school could not be used.





at the public high school. The difficulties of dealing simultaneously and effectively with such a heterogeneous group, in the difficult five year programme, will be readily apparent.

Behind many of the problems cited above, of course, lie financial difficulties. Inadequacies in staffing are in part a function of the order's inability to provide salaries for qualified lay teachers; recruitment is likewise adversely affected by the minimal but necessary fifteen dollars monthly tuition. Other problems are, clearly, more deeply rooted in a system which encourages religious and linguistic diversity at the elementary level only to terminate in a monolithic secondary structure, and in the rapidly changing character of secondary education. In any event, the existing private schools seem to offer little promise of resolving the educational problems of the French Catholic community, which in turn, is beginning to withdraw some measure of support. The reinvestment of this support in other avenues of change and experimentation is of crucial importance; one such alternative which is already exciting a considerable measure of interest, is the renewed effort to extend elementary schooling through Grades Nine and Ten.

Grades Nine and Ten in the Separate School: Loophole or Noose?

Ontario's elementary school regulations provide for the possibility of offering instruction through Grades Nine and Ten within the elementary school (Regulation 81, Article 28, Revised Regulations of Ontario, 1960, under the Department of Education Act).



In the statement that "The Board of public or separate school in a high or continuation school district shall not be required to provide instruction in the subjects of Grades Nine and Ten," (Subsection 2) there is, however, the clear implication that within a secondary school district, where Grades Nine and Ten are already available, the elementary schools are not expected to compete or to replicate. Neither the financing nor the staffing of the elementary school is designed to do justice to the revised programme for these two grades, ( ) which might presumably be undertaken only where they were not otherwise available (i.e. certain rural areas). On the other hand, the literal wording of the act, and its subsequent interpretation by the Department have in fact permitted duplication.

Today in Kapuskasing, and in Smooth Rock Falls, the move to establish Grades Nine and Ten under the separate school board has mobilized an enormous amount of support within the French community: concrete planning for the provision of facilities and staff is already underway.

If the move is genuinely popular within the French communities, although it is not without some opposition, then this is in part because the intent is cloaked with ambiguity. A great many supporters see the additional grades as an opportunity for further steps toward ultimate accommodation and success within the public secondary school. This reasoning was advanced by the President of the town Association des Parents et Instituteurs: "If we had Grades Nine and Ten in the French



Catholic schools, there would be Brothers to guide the boys, and the girls would get guidance from the Nuns ..... because they would have a smaller number of pupils to supervise than is the case at the high school. The two years spent in Catholic schools would be a better preparation for the children when they go to the high school, at about age fifteen, when they are more mature ..... Extending bilingual education to Grades Nine and Ten would prepare the students for a better knowledge of English when they would move to Grade Eleven .... and they would have more of a sense of responsibility than they have now in the lower grades."

Of course, a very different interpretation is possible, if one sees the two additional grades as stepping stones leading, perhaps more exclusively, to a bilingual secondary school. Supporters of the Académie find this doubly appealing since the move would make public funds available for classes presently financed by tuition and subscription: moreover, these classes could remain within the Académie under their present tutors, on a space "rental" basis. This same technique has been effectively used by a number of English Catholic schools in metropolitan areas: the local separate school board has assumed financial responsibility for Grades Nine and Ten, which remain, however, physically and administratively within private schools operated by religious orders.

Several member of Kapuskasing's separate school board clearly interpret the plan in this latter way. "To tell the





truth," the manager of a local Caisse Populaire confided, "we're thinking of putting Nine and Ten in our schools. Even if we use the Académie we'll still need to build, probably near Sacré-Coeur. We know we'll need more experienced teachers for Nine and Ten, teachers with a B.A. We would be able to provide the same quality teachers as the High School - maybe better. We're pretty sure that if we have Nine and Ten, after a few years the Académie will offer Eleven, Twelve and Thirteen." Another board member was more cautious: "There's no plan yet for Nine and Ten although I prefer to have it. We are not ready to say, but I won't say that later we won't have it!"

Clearly the plan to introduce these grades is subject to all those problems related to streaming by courses which were described above, in connection with the private school. It is not yet consistently envisaged by planners and supporters whether these grades would be intended to serve virtually the entire population of the bilingual Grade Eights, - effectively depriving the French student of the benefit of the diversified programme. Alternatively the extended levels could be offered only to five year arts and sciences students. In the latter case, the number of students involved would be relatively small, presumably not a great deal larger than the present enrollment of the Académie in the same grades. Moreover, numbers would be sufficiently small to restrict the possibility for teacher specialization and rotation.

Incredible as it may seem that such a fundamental issue has not been thoroughly explored in the early planning stages,



the explanation lies in the fact that the majority of those involved are completely unaware of the character and import of the reorganized secondary school programme. One board member who most strongly supported the move argued: "We would offer the five year programme so that they (pupils) could go into any course in the high school" This respondent could not identify the main branches offered in the diversified programme at the high school. A separate school principal, who was aware that streaming would have to begin earlier, had a different plan in mind: "I would definitely encourage the inauguration of Grades Nine and Ten. I've worked for it. If we can organize Nine and Ten on the same curriculum as the high school, with qualified teachers, we can't go wrong: the arts and sciences course alone; others would go to the high school."

There can be little doubt that the strong existing bias toward Arts and sciences would be thus strengthened in the event of such a change and that the pressures upon the student in course and school selection would be further compounded and confused. Religious, linguistic and academic dimensions would lose any independence which yet remains: pressures to select Catholic, or French language schooling would, in effect, become pressure upon the student to choose the five year arts and science programme, regardless of his academic aptitude or vocational interest! As has been evidenced in the case of the rural schools, and the Catholic secondary schools, clerical weight is thrown, almost



incidentally and unconsciously, against use of the new programme by any able student. More inept or intransigent students, however, may well be encouraged to undertake "technical" training, which has little prestige in the eyes of the French middle class.

As a group, the teachers and principals of the bilingual elementary schools in Kapuskasing are largely behind this development, as their comments to the researchers suggest:

"Oui je l'encouragerais, espérant que ça viendra jusqu'a la douzieme année."

"Pour la langue, 8 ans ce nest pas assez; pour la religion et la formation de character et moral ce n'est pas assez; ils continueront apres la 10 annee."

"L'enfant est déjà adapté a l'enseignement; poursuit la même atmosphère (en 9 et 10); a l'école secondaire publique, plus souvent ce n'est pas des leçons mais des lectures."

"La transition est plus facile apres la dixième; la commission scolaire doit être en mesure d'assumer cette responsabilité."

"Je l'encouragerais, car les enfants sont trop jeunes pour conserver par eux ~~leur~~ même, leur petite connaissance de religion!"

"Peut-être réussiraient mieux; habituer a l'école, et l'instituteur, dans sa langue."





"There is a language problem in Grade Nine; they get discouraged and drop out. I would like to delay the transition. If we had Nine and Ten we could separate them, and the teachers, in order to have rotation."

"Moins d'adaptation après la dix." In each school, a small number of teachers, notably the younger group, dissented, arguing that the transition would be more difficult after Grade Ten.

The school board are largely convinced that the French community is prepared to support a venture into the secondary grades. This assessment seems to have its basis in the support of organized middle class groups - the most powerful segments of the French bloc - but the movement may not actually have a wide popular base. The Separate School Board has been active in sounding opinion and breaking ground for possible action, as one member related: "The people are in favour of Nine and Ten as long as it doesn't cost them anything. We had meetings last year about Nine and Ten; a couple were good but others were no good - only twelve people showed up in Val Albert!"

This lack of interest in Val Albert may reflect wider disapproval. In the course of preparing case studies of a random sample of all Grade Nine French speaking students in the district, parents of the thirty-one students sampled were asked for their reaction to the establishment of Grades Nine and Ten in the Kapuskasing separate schools. As anticipated, support was stronger among parents of students presently enrolled in bilingual Grade Nines, but the overall trend was to oppose the move. Responses were as follows:



	<u>Favour</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>N.R.</u>
Parents of Students in Bilingual Gr.Nine	5	3	2
Parents of Students in Public High Schools	6	14	1
Total -	11	17	3

The force of clerical opinion on this issue is felt by the board and the parents not only directly, but through the A.P.I., the "Femmes", "Filles d Isabelle", "Dames" and other parish centred groups. One of the Kapuskasing parish priests expressed these views on the proposed change: "French Catholic children leaving Grade Eight and going on to high school are completely lost, changing from one language to another. The age problem is an important one too; children going to Grade Nine or Ten are too young to attend high school. They go wild; like freshmen, they think they know everything. They think they are well above such things as cleanliness, politeness, or dressing properly. Teachers have a duty to discipline the children in addition to being responsible for their instruction."

The reaction of the English community to rumours of the proposed changes was well summarized by the chairman of the high school board: "The agitation for Grades Nine and Ten has always been turned down by their own people ( ). I don't think it would be worth a damn; better to get out and in the high school with the other students - makes a better citizen. I doubt they can get



teachers well enough qualified, and they lose financially." ( )  
At the high school, the issue has generated a great deal of heat: expression of disapproval was vehement in many cases and a number of teachers indicated that they felt strongly enough to speak out publicly, should the issue become an overt one. A few of the comments offered by teachers will convey the general feeling encountered by the researchers:

"It's an impossibility, from the point of view of the Roberts Plan. I can't see any point in it; I would rather have them here. I believe in atmosphere and learning from the folkways of the school."

"I'm dead against it. One reason: if they don't like the Arts and Sciences course, they will have missed Nine and Ten of the other programmes; they may lack the drive to repeat and keep going."

"I would think that it would increase the number of difficulties that the French speaking student would have coming to the High School!"

"I'm against it if those kids still come to us to finish their high school. They should come to us earlier because of the adjustment problems. My feelings on this are well known .... as an educator, I have a responsibility to speak out."

"One student in Grade Thirteen is the only one left of eleven or twelve students who came in in Grade Eleven; the rest dropped out because they were absolutely swamped. But

( ) Elementary school grants would provide less than would be available for the same student population in a public secondary school.





it would relieve a lot of building problems. If the standard we've experienced were applied, I would think it would be awful! I don't think its imminent: the seven streams of the Robarts system prevent that. If such a move were definitely announced I would feel strongly enough that I would not want to be here!"

"I wouldn't like it! I feel the separate school hasn't done a good job with Grades One to Eight. If they haven't prepared them for Grade Nine, how can they prepare them for Eleven?"

"I would feel favourable if, and only if, they could carry on in French through Grades Eleven, Twelve and Thirteen - if the Académie, for example, could specialize in Eleven, Twelve and Thirteen. You'd have to have a Junior High School - a three level system. When the schools were constituted Grade Ten was a senior level; now they should have government support in the higher grades."

"I don't think its going to help them ..... the separation would cause hostility, and they wouldn't be as well educated."

"The pupils who come in after Grade Ten lose a year. They may become discouraged. Because of the time element they can't have as much individual consideration. It is not possible, either, to adjust the curricula in Eleven."

"Those who enter after Grade Ten tend to stand out a bit at Grade Eleven level more than at Grade Nine. Very little consideration is given at Grade Eleven, and very few make the transition without repeating their year."



"I would not be in favour of it. If they continue to teach in French, wouldn't the adjustment be harder; the older they get, the harder, I would think."

Not one of the teachers at the high school expressed opinions favourable to this move contemplated by the French community. The senior teacher of French, regarded as a champion of the cause of the French student within the high school, was among those who objected strenuously: "I'm opposed because the facilities would not be available and could not be afforded - staff, for example. My stand is known: I was thought to be the only cause why Grades Nine and Ten did not remain in the separate schools." ( )

Among English Catholics, the long-standing opposition appears to be as strong as ever. "Father L.....(parish priest of St Patricks) sees no future for Catholic secondary schooling here - it would be dominated by the French!" reported the principal of the English Catholic school. The leader of the P.T.A. at St Patricks, a teacher at the high school, offered these comments:

"I would not be in favour of it. We already have separate school up to Grade Eight; with difficulty - and hard work - we try to raise the level of separate elementary schooling - to take on the job of Grades Nine and Ten would be too much. I can't see any advantages to be gained: we could not offer equal facilities. I have discussed this with people - with the principal and our parish priest. Our P.T.A. opposes Nine and Ten."



Although there are no English-speaking representatives on the separate school board, the French are well aware of the opposition of the English Catholics, and are, to some extent, inhibited by this lack of unity on the religious front. The English Catholic would, of course, bear any increased tax burden in the same proportion as his French neighbour, with little apparent advantage. As one French priest related: "This situation has caused a slow down in the development of the groups, in taking over (Nine and Ten) because one part of the population is against it -- and that's the old story in Ontario, the French and English speaking Catholics." .....

The English don't see the need for it because they have their own high school. The taxes would presumably go up, but they would still not be sending their children to the bilingual school."

To summarize, the situation in Kapuskasing is an uncertain one; the most powerful forces within the French community are relatively united, but unwilling to act until internal opposition has been further overcome, popular support in the labouring classes has been further assured, and easing of pressures for expansion make implementation possible. The only dissentient voice on the Separate School Board, that of the chairman, summed up this continuing indecision:

"There's some (members) that can only see Nine and Ten - but I say that we have enough problems with One to Eight. We couldn't get the same teachers; why deny our children the best education they could get?"





At Smooth Rock Falls the situation is the more critical, in view of the absence of any powerful English Catholic minority, and an even greater lack of rapport with the local secondary school. Priest, bilingual teaching staff, and board are united in their aim, although they are fully aware that the inauguration of Grades Nine and Ten would almost necessarily mean the end of the Smooth Rock Continuation School. Withdrawal of the French speaking Catholic population, from Smooth Rock and neighbouring Strickland, would leave but a single small class of English pupils (Grades Seven and Eight are a combined class in the English public school), together with the Eleventh and Twelfth grades: four classes in all. Local observers agree that this would necessitate transport of the English students to Kapuskasing, and the closing of the small Continuation facilities. The effect of this reaction, in accentuating the probable terminal character of the new Grades Nine and Ten will be obvious, in the light of an earlier discussion ( ). The Chairman of the Separate School Board views this move as a vindication of French "rights," as a victory over English domination, much to be sought. He has no knowledge of the nature of the secondary school programme, of the Robarts Plan, or of the implications of the move in terms of streaming, yet he has already taken concrete steps toward purchase of land and construction. With regard to the problems of staffing, he argues: "If the small villages like Moonbeam and Fauquier get good teachers, I don't see why we can't. We can afford to pay more."



The English community in Smoth Rock would undoubtedly be opposed, but were totally unaware of the proposed change, at the time of interviewing.

What must be evident, from a consideration of all dimensions of the issue explored above, is that while use of Grade Nine and Ten may provide a solution to certain "problems" defined by the French clergy and middle class - not the least of which may well be an opportunity for the advance of the rapidly growing body of professional administrators and teachers - the change would undoubtedly raise new and acute problems of streaming and of transition. Indeed, there is ~~ev~~ery suggestion that such a move might well further the fragmentation of the system which has been emphasized here, and that a terminal education for larger numbers of French students could well be the outcome.



In The High Schools -

The Kapuskasing District High School is the setting for a competitive climb to provincially regulated levels of achievement: it is a struggle in which the French continue to occupy a disadvantaged position, in so far as they enter with unequal preparation, receive differential treatment and suffer higher mortality. But the selectivity of the high school is far from being an "automatic" function of the provincial curriculum: the staff are members of the community, representative of various ethnic, religious and economic groups whose interests they strive to realize within the framework of the secondary school system. All the teachers are aware of the difficulties of the French students: but the interpretations of and responses to their problems are so divergent as to create a serious dichotomy of thought which is progressively expressed at the level of policy making, and in the struggle for administrative power.

Opinions appear to range along a sort of continuum. At one end it is possible to locate those who, "sympathetic" to the difficulty of the French student, are willing to soften curricula, to overlook deficiency in early course work and examinations, to introduce remedial assignments, and, in general, to view the school as flexible in providing an optimum opportunity for the French student to accommodate and achieve within the system. At the other end of the continuum are to be found those who, while expressing sympathy for the plight of the individual student, disclaim responsibility for





any initial "deficiencies", linguistic, academic or social, who view the school system as operating uniformly, in a blindly egalitarian fashion, inviting all comers to a standardized and high level of instruction which provides, by this very standardization, an equal opportunity for all. If the French are less successful in the competition for achievement and survival, it is, according to this style of thought, because they are "victims" of the religious and linguistic biases of their group, because of the prejudicial socio-economic environment, or because of hereditary intellectual inferiority.

While these constellations of opinion are models only, it is convenient to view the teaching staff as ranged along the continuum according to the extent of their participation in these ideologies, and to caricature the many smaller cliques and sub-groups as constituting the primary factions: those who accept the task of adjusting to meet the needs of French-speaking students, those who would press for a "harder" <sup>and more uniform</sup> line and those whose marginal involvement or academic specialty permits withdrawal from conflict and a disregard for policy implications. Underlining day-to-day concern for immediate and practical problems of the classroom and the office, run the antagonistic currents and pressures which are resolved by compromise and concealment rather than by the articulation of any authoritative long run policy. It is not difficult to appreciate, then, the ambivalence and uncertainty of many of the teachers with regard to their own position, which need be neither explicit nor



consistent, or to understand the confusion and frustration of the French speaking parents, to whom the school, fluctuating under the pressures of the board and the teaching staff, presents a series of changing and often contradictory faces.

In general, those teachers who have remained longer in the community are more sensitive to, if not more aware of the growing expectations of the French in terms of education: their chief orientation is that of meeting local needs. By contrast, the younger and newer teachers are more likely to see their career as related, not to the town primarily, but to the Ontario secondary school system. Although Kapuskasing's former reputation, throughout the province, as a superior and ideal training ground from which teachers were in demand, has diminished considerably since the change of board in the early 60's, the younger staff are still inclined to view teaching in Kapuskasing as essentially a preparatory experience, and often an "adventurous" one. The high salaries, roughly comparable to those of the largest metropolitan areas are attractive but not retentive of those whose professional advancement demands movement to new schools where departmental headships, or senior administrative positions are available, of those who require winter access to extension courses, or of the many to whom the isolation of Kapuskasing is tolerable only to the extent that it is recognized as temporary. Such a situation is not really analogous to the annual regrouping of teachers within Southern Ontario. While the professional





position of the young teacher is essentially nomadic, there is little in the experience of the English speaking Southern Ontarian that prepares him for the unusual educational problems of the bilingual community, and equally little motivation for adjustment and experimentation, so long as the future is seen in terms of the secondary school system per se, and of mobility within that system.

The following comments of the younger staff are expressive of this transitory outlook toward the Kapuskasing teaching experience, and of social detachment from the community: "I came here for the money, but I won't stay. Next year I'm going back to (Southern Ontario town) .... all my friends are in the South; I'm too far away here." "I never heard of Kapuskasing before I came here, but I came because my husband (also a teacher) got a job here. We're moving to (Southern Ontario city) next year." Although this teacher had remained in Kapuskasing for three years, she admitted that she had never seen Brunetville, which is less than a mile from the centre of the old town! When asked whether she had established any contact with the French community during her stay, she replied "a few wives of staff members, and one or two friends from the curling club and golf club .... but we're away summers, so there is less chance to get to know them."

"I came here because the North always appealed to me; I was looking for a different outlook, a frontier spirit .... something more simple with less pressure. I'd like to remain in the North, but not in Kapuskasing. All my friends are





English, curling club friends or other teachers."

"The life of a teacher is somewhat isolated; I think it's the problem of the time." reported a teacher who had remained for almost nine years in the town, but affirmed that she had no French speaking friends and virtually no contact with the French community. "I came here to see a new type of life: I'd always lived in Southern Ontario. I stayed because of inertia. Now I'm moving to (Southern Ontario city) for my professional advantage.... there's a new school."

A fully bilingual teacher originally from the Sudbury area, reported: "I came here for the money, in response to an advertisement. I haven't had too much to do with community life; my only friends are the \_\_\_\_\_ (English family) and a couple of students from my night classes. I'll be leaving next year: I hope to find a job in Ottawa."

"I came here because of the opportunity offered in the setting up of the technical wing; but I won't stay. I've found the distance to Toronto too great ..... for night courses, for example. I'm getting further behind academically and there's a good opportunity at a new school in (Southern Ontario city)." This teacher had no French speaking friends in the town and admitted little contact with the French-speaking population.

"I came here because of the opportunity for a departmental headship and for the salary, but I would have to move in order to advance my career: there are young men here



already. I've associated primarily with other teachers, but I do see some French neighbours and visit their homes."

For perhaps a majority of younger teachers, life in the northern community is a busy round of activity within a narrowly circumscribed area. Heavy work load at the school keeps the teacher out of the mill, and out of the commercial heart of the community during the work day; moreover, it generally accounts for a substantial number of evenings and weekends, particularly at examination time. For the rest, school events - sporting, dramatic, musical or social - offer occasional interruptions in the cycle of lively colleague-group partying, in school board leased or owned apartments. Golfing or curling are professionally acceptable pursuits, helping to fill the time between trips to Southern Ontario over special holidays, or the mass exodus at summer recess. Many of these teachers have only the most superficial awareness of the history, structure and problems of the community or of their impact on the students whom they face daily.

Several teachers were at a rather crucial stage of their career; and faced the choice of moving quickly in order to seek administrative posts, or of remaining in Kapuskasing with virtual tenure, and an apparent ceiling to mobility of income and office. The reflections of this group, all department heads, suggest deeper involvement in the community but nothing in the order of a long range decision: "I came here not for salary but for a congenial school situation .... I wanted to be in the north and had no ties anywhere in Ontario. My



career is at the crossroads now: I have the choice of advancement outside Kapuskasing. I probably will move, not because of dissatisfaction with Kapuskasing but for opportunities.

I found here, more than in any other town, you have a clique of seasonal friends according to the yearly round of activities. I have more Anglo-Saxon friends but a few anglicized French: most of my friends are teachers or professional people. Socially there is a fair intermingling of French and English which increases with education .... the professionals mix, for example."

(This respondent spent two summers in Kapuskasing and was exploring the possibilities of opening a boys' summer camp in the area. | "I came here because I always wanted to go "up north", even when I was in University. I feel deeply rooted in the community and would stay as long as there is opportunity for advancement." The interviewee was married, with several children attending school in Kapuskasing: he was an active church and Parent Teachers Association worker, who suggested that he had established contact with the French community through fellow teachers and through the English Catholic church. His wife spoke, however, of their dilemma: "Each year we talk about leaving: we get the Globe & Mail and look at the advertisements, but we decide to stay. One of these years we'll find that we're "stuck here" she added jokingly.

"I came here because I saw an advertisement for a head





of the department: I'll be vice principal next year. The board plan to build another school; I could be principal but I'm not sure how long I want to stay in Northern Ontario ..... I'm not committed to Northern Ontario or to teaching either....."

By contrast, the older teachers are deeply rooted in the community and express their intentions to continue teaching in Kapuskasing until retirement. While the sense of involvement in, and commitment to the community is not simply a function of length of residence, one can make the simplified assertion that a philosophy of "accommodation" is more typical of the rapidly diminishing group of older, community-committed teachers, the "old guard", ( ), just as it is more characteristic of Catholic than of non-catholic teachers. Paradoxically, however, some of the newer teachers appear to be more conscious of the very existence of problems which have become routinized for older staff members: sudden juxtaposition to the Southern Ontario situation provides a certain "shock" value.

- (f) A number of teachers were relatively untouched by the problems of the French students, or were detached from serious debate about their solution. In some cases this was the function of a particular academic specialty. Certain teachers, for example dealt only with particular streams in senior grades, where they confronted a small number of the most successful French students; others, teaching subjects such as physical education, music or home economics may have noticed language difficulties in earlier grades but were able to pass over these more easily. Other teachers, noticeably a few spinsters, seemed to have withdrawn from any struggle for position or power within the school: it appeared less difficult to arrange a shower than to conduct a departmental meeting.



One such young teacher, who had assumed leadership of the English department in his first year with the school, expressed his surprise and concern in this way: "I understood that in the past the French were not well treated, and I think there is hostility toward the high school in some respects. If they didn't feel some hostility, they should! It's a tragedy - what has been done to these people - I wonder at people who have been here for years and years and do nothing about it. The students can't follow a teacher who speaks quickly; from the evidence of the teachers they can't follow well at all in class. In English class they lose the subtleties of language. The Grade Twelve people have not been prepared to handle Grade Twelve work, given the problem of another language spoken at home. Their ability to express themselves is very poor - it would affect their performance in other subjects."

The same teacher proposed to take extraordinary measures in dealing with the problems: "We plan to form a seminar of English teachers from Hearst, Smooth Rock Falls, and other nearby towns, we plan to get out to the separate schools, to meet the principals and sit in on English classes. We'd like to test all Grade Nines on entry, provide a remedial programme for (the French classes) followed by an abbreviated Grade Nine course for the remainder. Earlier, there was a special programme of English



for French students, but my two predecessors including Mr \_\_\_\_\_, now an inspector, cut out the programme: students had either to sink or swim. The principal is aware, but he cares primarily for the Arts and Sciences students in Grades Twelve and Thirteen - that's all! The poor students I have now in Grade Twelve are the product of this poor preparation."

"Later on, I'd like to eliminate the French groupings and to provide a remedial programme for occupational students. This year, we took Shakespeare out of Grade Nine; we did remedial work in phonetics; we slowed down the rate of progress - the amount of work done, and we taught fundamentals such as spelling and verb endings. We set separate exams: the students did well in terms of the work covered, with a normal rate of failure - approximately eighteen percent. At Easter, (the French classes) had a very high failure rate, except in English, where the course had been adjusted."

Although this respondent was not prepared to observe the deficiencies of French-speaking students passively, he saw changes in the high school as but a temporary easement of problems rooted in the bilingual schools.

"The student is used as a political pawn! It's unfair to the student: they don't teach him English in the hope that he will go to a French high school. For the good of the student I would have a special effort made in the teaching of English for students who will likely go to an





English high school, streaming them according to secondary school education."

Dissimilarity in attitudes toward the difficulties of French speaking students may be seen by contrasting the views of the teaching staff members, on specific issues.

The "old guard" led by the principal, and by a senior teacher of French (both native French speaking) are inclined to attribute differential performance to language problems primarily, but refrain from expressing any bias against elementary school instruction in French. The principal asserted his confidence in the "native abilities" of the French students in this way: "Many of these children come unprepared for the secondary level of education, and that creates many difficulties ... they come to secondary school with little knowledge of English ... the second factor is academic deficiency." The principal recounted how he had once "proved" the primacy of language difficulties to his teachers, who had complained of poor examination results in subjects such as mathematics. When the principal entered the classroom himself, translating the questions into French, "the students had no difficulty in giving the proper answers." This principal expresses confidently the belief that if deficiencies of language and academic preparation could be overcome, the French students "would not be in any way unequal to their English speaking classmates."



Those who share the views of the principal tend to emphasize an alleged growth of harmony between the high school and the French community, the importance of patience and special considerations in the accommodation of French students through early Grades (Nine and Ten), and the quality of the French students following adjustment. "The good French student is often better than the good English student". "The top French students who reach Grade Thirteen are a wonderful product; they maintain their French identity".

An extreme contrast is provided if, over against these views, one sets the opinions of several of the younger, aggressive, English-speaking Protestant teachers. One such teacher, an extremely influential figure who was recently appointed to a vice-principalship, commented that "minority rule is destroying democracy .... and I don't hold it to be only the French .... it's the Facists and others as well." The same informant had strong views on the character of the local French community: "When, at a (teacher's meeting) someone said that the local priests were encouraging students not to attend the high school, (the principal) said - 'Remember, these people are just out of shacks.' I asked, 'Are they? -- or are they inherently shack builders?' Our French students are less capable academically ... I believe that I.Q. and size of family are related. Therefore, we get lower I.Q. students from French families."



Of this informant, who was a history teacher, one observer commented "Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ raked another teacher over the coals for not slamming the Catholics harder in a history course - I guess he feels the kids are brainwashed and he wants to counteract it. The teacher thought she had been fair; she tried to present both sides of it. Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ is very anti-Catholic!"

Another department head expressed a similar image of the French Canadian: "There's no justification for the (claims of Quebec) - they've made their bed and they must lit in it. The French Canadian didn't get into the picture in time, suddenly awakes to find himself landless and powerless, and it comes out as cries against Anglo-Saxon dominance. They're victims of progress. .... Oh yes, I teach that. I throw out controversial questions for debate in Grade Eleven; I say (don't you think all the French Canadians in Northern Ontario are mentally deficient? There were sixty thousand French Canadians at Confederation - this led to inbreeding and mental deficiency. The general consensus of opinion is that the average French Canadian is mentally less stimulated - I don't want to say inferior."

The same group of teachers tend to see bilingual elementary schooling as culpable in compounding educational problems; as indicated by these comments. "If they want to learn French, fine, it's like my daughter taking music





lessons ... it's got to be an extra and they can't expect special considerations .... seventy-one percent can't accommodate to twenty-nine percent as much as twenty-nine must accommodate to seventy one."

"Before changing the school system, you'd have to educate the French public - convince them that since they live in a community dominated by Anglo Saxons, the best thing they can do for their children is equip them to compete with the English. - I'd like to see them brought in, immediately, in Grade One, into the English language system, and as a compensation have French taught as compulsory." Again, this conflicts with the views of other teachers, both old and new, who are sympathetic to the demand for French language education:

"If the student had a solid education in French in elementary school, it would take little time to make the transition in Grades Nine and Ten. The problem is that the French boy is living in an English language environment .... the effect of the media cannot be overcome immediately but more time could be spent on French in bilingual schools. My first class of French students was nineteen in (date); thirteen graduated .... they they put in more English at the elementary schools, less French and larger classes.

If there is one issue which offers striking evidence of the divergence of interests within the high school, and of the polarization of attitudes about influential cliques, it



is the controversy over adjustment of curricula and grades. One teacher, who had mellowed somewhat during his stay in the community, reported the differences of opinion in this way:

"Our policy is to be very lenient at the end of Grade Nine. My first promotion meeting really shocked me: all those (low) figures getting through! (f) In my second year, with two other teachers, I organized all of the Grade Nine to pass eighty percent of the grade, not the class -- why fail a kid with forty-five percent in Grade Nine A1, for example, and pass a kid in Grade Nine A4 with an average of twenty-three. Well, we couldn't do it! The bottom twenty percent was all French. We wash out Grade Nine and say this is the year in which they learn the English language for instruction. In one class last June eighty-three percent failed in a French speaking class. Marks were raised from the twenties to the fifties: some were failures because of language not mental ability. We "juggled", and got seventy-three percent passing. I don't know what we're going to do with them in Grade Ten! We passed a good number of French Canadians last year who had eight failures on eight papers."

I've only been here a few years but I'm considered an old timer. Now I look at the new kids saying 'Where are our standards?' and I say 'that's me five years ago.' Although this spokesman was supporting a policy of accommodation and leniency, his position was really midway between the "old guard", who felt that they should be able to adjust further,

(f) First year averages such as seventeen or thirty-five, are not uncommon among French students.



and the attitudes of some younger teachers who would press for a harder line:

"It's do or die", reported one department head, "We haven't changed the regular course - it's do or fail! I teach the same course here as in Toronto, but the kids here are so much slower!"

One vice principal reported: "We adjust curricula and examination standards drastically! I'm always of the opinion that we're discriminating against the English by leaning that way. The English student is at a disadvantage - he might be better to go elsewhere. He gets a downgraded instruction: the French influence is damaging to the English speaking students." He added, however, in explanation of the hostility toward the school which he sensed in the French community, "We fail more French than English; we have province-wide standards which must be maintained."

One of the older teachers, on the other hand, pointed to the impact of increased staff turnover in reducing the opportunity for leniencies:

"We have tried (adjusting curricula, marks etc.) and it has worked. Some individual teachers have unfortunately been intransigent; this has delayed the adjustment and adaptation of some students to the high school. One boy came into Grade Nine and had trouble. I fought for his promotion, and again in Ten; by Grade Thirteen he won a scholarship as top student. (The principal) has pushed this policy of





adaptation. Now, to avoid a split of the teachers; it hasn't been pushed, and we're losing students because of it. It's hard, with fifty percent new staff in one year. Previously one or two new teachers could be "broken in" by the older staff, who had found, by trial and error, the best way of dealing with the problem".

A Young French Canadian, teaching in one of the schools where no special consideration was extended to French students, but where opinions of the staff were divided on the subject, argued in this way: "There's no accommodation for the French students. I've been to promotion meetings and tried to reason with them; the French kids should be allowed more mistakes. If you let them develop their English in Grades Nine, Ten and Eleven they may do alright." Some of the teachers in this school admitted that they made covert adjustments by giving a more sympathetic reading to the papers of French language pupils.

The policy of structuring an adjustment period is closely connected with the controversy over streaming: in so far as the French students are segregated in special classes if will be possible to accord special treatment in terms of curricula, work load, presentation and examination. If streaming were based on some criteria other than language, the promotion meeting would remain the sole recourse for the disadvantaged French student.



Advocates of the "harder line " generally urge the abandonment of "French classes", in favour of a selection based entirely upon academic ability. "(The principal) is strong in his thinking: I'm strong in mine on the other side. If I had my way they wouldn't be segregated at all."

"I'm against that (segregation). I'd like to stream according to ability," or "I'm dead against that; I want to segregate them by ability," are comments of other teachers in this group.

The older staff members argue that the constitution of "French" classes is necessitated in order to facilitate time-tabling of the "special French" courses, a more advanced French language programme for French speaking students. One of the younger teachers, however, stressed the dual function of this segregation: "It's because of the scheduling of 'Special French'; that's the only official reason .... But the other reason is so that the course can be adapted to their needs."

During the summer of 1965, the newly appointed vice-principal, together with another department head who shares opposition to the present system of streaming, undertook the drafting of a timetable for the academic year 1965-66. According to the chairman of the separate school board: "They tried to cut out the special French this year. I know that it was \_\_\_\_\_ (vice principal) and \_\_\_\_\_ who tried to see if they could get away with it. We didn't know about it



for a while because the kids didn't tell us, but then we had all the parents phone the school, and we went to (the High School Board Chairman) and told him that we just were not going to accept this! We know they had problems though - a lot more kids than they expected. There is no liaison with the high school: there's just no contact." Of course, restrictions on the availability of special French suggest growing disregard for language background in streaming, which may imply an increased uniformity of instruction and grading, and fewer concessions to the French speaking pupil.

The near success of this controversial move reflects a shift in the power structure of the school. As both turnover and augmentation of staff increases annually, and is accompanied by a rapid growth of student population, the principal has come to rely more and more upon the administrative abilities of several ambitious young department heads, despite an obvious disparity of views on the problems of the French students. Expansion into the diversified programme has broadened the base of power at this level by introducing new departments, directors and specialists. Selected on the basis of teaching experience, specialized training, or simply "availability" in crucial periods of expansion, new staff members are unlikely to be prepared for the bilingual situation; they are more likely to be "transients" to the community and to be "system oriented", thus strengthening the "harder line" movement.





What is abundantly clear, from the comments of the teachers themselves, is simply that there exists an increasing sharply focused divergence of attitudes concerning the whole range of problems encountered by, and with, the French-speaking student. Friction between ethnic stereotypes generates heat about issues of curricula adjustment, preferential grading, streaming and promotion standards. Factional outlines begin to emerge now, with an uneasy distribution of power in the balance. The most critical issues are at the same time most divisive; as day to day operational efficiency takes precedence over long range planning. Faith in the "system" in procedure and technique supersedes articulate concern with educational goals.

While the principal and his senior staff have a well formulated philosophy of adaptation and concession, they no longer possess the power to implement such measures as depend upon the sympathetic response of a teacher who is willing to take liberties within the system. Individual teachers may share, more or less, the views of either faction, on any particular problem, or may be insulated from centres of concern. Lines of support on the major issues remain blurred, and polarization of views is only suggested by divisions in terms of religion, or of community involvement. Not only does this situation not admit the possibility of effective long-range planning, but it tends to set short range efforts in opposition one to another (i.e. while the new English teacher privately plans curricula deviations in terms of special "remedial" work for French classes, the vice-principal covertly schedules



So as to eliminate such classes altogether!) (f)

- (f) One teacher who did evidence considerable awareness of ethnic issues in the community and a recognition of the need for long range planning in education was the newly-appointed guidance director. Not only were the problems of streaming, adjustment and mortality more forcefully drawn to his attention by the very nature of his tasks, both in counselling and maintaining records, but they were underscored by the work of the present researchers. It was necessary that the guidance director be fully informed as to the nature of our investigation in order to maximize the effectiveness of his assistance: to this extent, he was gradually redefined as a colleague in research; although he did not have access to any data which might have compromised his position as a member of the teaching staff. His own comments are nowhere included in the report.



The "André Caré" Experiment:

In the fall of 1965, Kapuskasing's Separate School Board opened an additional school, "André Caré", which may afford new possibilities for solving the community's educational dilemma. Originally, a number of Board members, as well as teachers employed by the board, had hoped that the new classrooms might be used to provide instruction in Grades Nine and Ten. Expanding enrollment at each of the elementary schools under the board's jurisdiction, however, demanded that the new space be made available to absorb the overflow. Rather than allocating population by the rezoning of school districts, the board chose to bring together all the senior grades, (Seven and Eight), within the new building. While the supporters of the move to Grades Nine and Ten were satisfied with this as the first step toward establishment of a "Junior High School", considerable controversy surrounded the renewed juxtaposition of French and English classes. ( ) At first, the English Catholic community opposed the move, but with assurances that the situation was a temporary one, and with the approval of a sizeable addition to St Patrick's school for 1966, agreement was finally reached.

Precisely this mixing of French and English students, however, was seen by the Board as the chief asset of the new situation, for it provided for the possibility of teacher rotation. Special permission was obtained to have the teachers certified in one language, teach classes in the other system and an exchange of instructors was arranged such that the English classes, still





segregated, could receive French language instruction from a native French-speaking teacher, while the French students could have instruction in English from one of the staff of St. Patricks. Disciplinary control is divided: French classes are under the former Brother Principal of Sacré-Coeur, while the English class is retained under St. Patrick's principalship.

The Board is uniformly enthusiastic about the experiment: "I figure that the mixing of English Catholics and French will help in the new Grade Eight," one member suggested in regard to the English language difficulties of students from Val Albert and Brunetville.

"There is rotation in Grade Eight for the new school; I like to see them meet. In Brunetville they're not strong in English; if the French and English mix together, I hope they will pick up English faster," another members volunteered.

In providing an intermediary and more mature setting, with improved English language instruction, an opportunity to adjust to rotary classes, and a mixing with English students, the new school might well ease the transition to the public high school for many French students. However, the whole arrangement appears ready to break down with the withdrawal of English classes in 1966. The Chairman of the Separate School Board was optimistic about the possibility of retaining the classes from St. Patricks:



"We had to say we moved the English classes because of space! We were afraid some of the English parents would object; they're basing their opinion on earlier experiences at Sacré-Coeur, but we hope to see them stay. We think the parents are happy and Father L ..... is changing his mind."

Nevertheless, the principal at St Patrick's, who was disturbed at the loss of his senior staff and grades, gave a very different picture:

"We're going to take back Seven and Eight next year. We're afraid that the kids would end up in a year or two under French teachers. The French will dominate a minority group just as much as the English would! It would be one year when, just because of a teacher shortage, the kids would be taught by a 'bilingual' - French - teacher; then, once the precedent was set it would not be changed." The principal added that the additional space, already under construction, would assure the return of classes.

The experiment at André Caré is an interesting one, and is suggestive of measures which might be particularly helpful in alleviating the problems of suburban and rural students. If the school survives in its present composition - which it most probably will not - the results should be carefully assessed in terms of secondary school performance. Once again, community efforts at problem solving appear ready to break down in controversy and lack of communication.



Structural Changes:

"There has been much progress in recent years in the bilingual system. This I proudly proclaim, and thank the Department for their cooperation, but one feels so depressed at times! Whatever we have obtained to foster the progress of our bilingual system has been obtained after long and strenuous efforts.

The recent reorganization of the Department of Education announced by Mr. Davis, Minister of Education, left us puzzled. No provisions had been made either for the separate or the bilingual system of education. Where do we fit in this new scheme? Certainly they have made plans for us, but up to now nothing leaked out; we are completely in the dark. Don't blame us, if we are a bit pessimistic!

Minorities have problems of their own, which the majority in most of the countries do not even think of studying until it is much too late. We do hope that, in Canada, we won't live to see the reactions such as we read daily in our newspapers. It is through education and fair play that such excesses can be, I believe, averted." ( )

In this public statement, one of Kapuskasing's leading spokesmen for bilingual education, the Brother Principal of Sacré-Coeur, expressed a thinly veiled discontent with Provincial measures in accommodating bilingual education. Born by default, and nurtured almost covertly, Ontario's bilingual schools have





found independence within the separate school framework, and have extended <sup>themselves</sup> through the mechanism of Grades Nine and Ten. Diverse religious and linguistic problems have been compounded and confused; with the result that, at the secondary level, the practically distinct problems of Southern Ontario's Catholic Schools, and the regional difficulties of bilingual secondary schooling become administratively inextricable. If no long range policy for the development of bilingual schooling has emerged within the system at the level of the community, at the Provincial level there has, likewise, been little public evidence of a consistent projected policy. Five recent moves have, however, been seen as especially significant by the Kapuskasing community. Of primary importance, clearly, was the announcement of the Ontario Foundation Tax Plan, in 1963; by improving the financial position of the Catholic elementary schools in a number of areas, the plan is interpreted as permitting a considerable improvement in the whole range of performance of the bilingual separate school. Corollary to this, the recent uniform requirement of Grade Thirteen for normal school training, with the deletion of second class certification, implies a necessary "stepping up" of the level of teacher training in bilingual schools, together with a possible shift away from the heavy recruitment in Grade Twelve - oriented bilingual secondary institutions. That the introduction of the reorganized, or "diversified" programme in public secondary schools has profoundly altered the whole position, and competitive base, of the private



school was evidenced above. Although the community itself is far from fully alert to the ultimate impact of this change, the new programme is undoubtedly another move with deep local consequences for bilingual education.

More recently ( ) changes have been introduced permitting additional Grade Thirteen papers to be written in French. For a number of years the paper in "Francais", (special French) has been accepted in French; in 1961 ( ) the Latin paper was also made available for completion in French. In 1966, Geography and History papers are being added to the list, making available a substantial programme, outside the mathematics and sciences, for instruction in French language in all secondary grades. While it is safe to say that there will be considerable internal opposition to the use of this optional programme in the public secondary schools of the Kapuskasing district, the possibility for strengthening French language instruction and usage now constitutes at least a potential supplementary threat to the competition of the private school. Finally, by effective negation of the appeal of Roman Catholic Bishops for the support of secondary schooling, the Province has at least postponed support for failing standards of instruction and inadequate facilities at the Académie and Collège.

( ) Announced by the Minister in 1965; effective 1966.

( ) Based on data supplied by the Department of Education

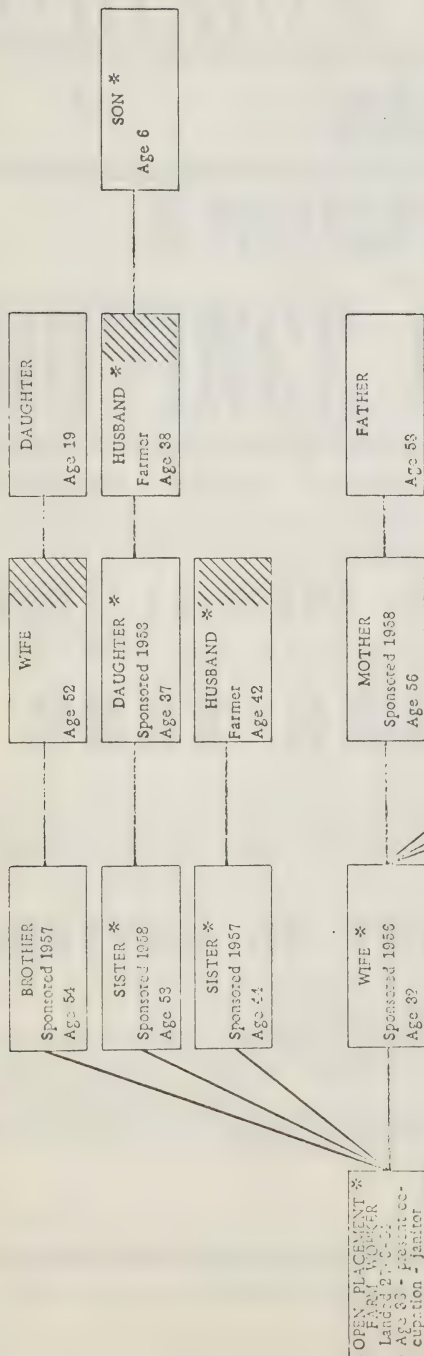


Significantly, perhaps, each of these moves serves to strengthen reintegration of the school system, rather than to promote the development of parallel structures.





## THE "SEED" IMMIGRANT

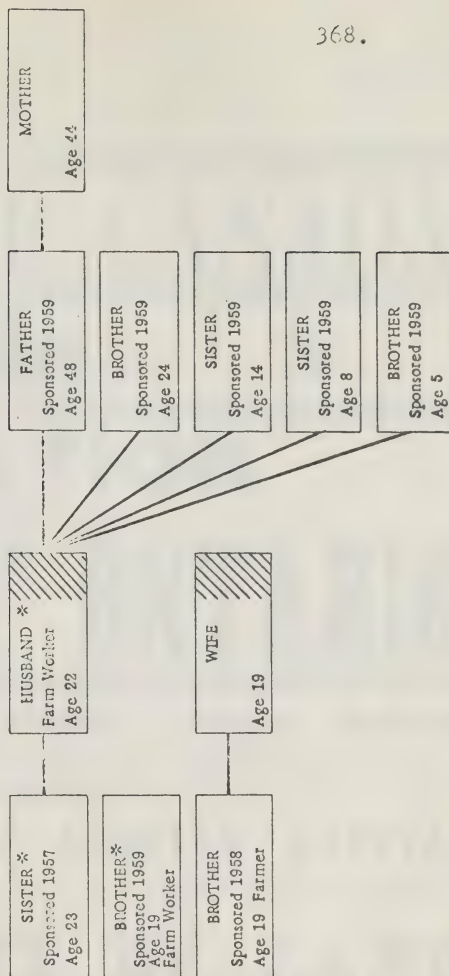


## THE "SEED" IMMIGRANT

This illustrates the "chain reaction" movement of sponsored immigrants resulting from the selection of one open placement farm worker. Up to 1960, 23 persons have been nominated. In the process 5 immigrants with no blood relationship within this family were admitted who will be in a position to sponsor their own blood relatives.

\* Admitted as immigrants

Future seed immigrants within the sponsored movement





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V.



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## REGISTERS OF THE LABOUR MARKET.

And of Improved Farms for sale, are kept at the Immigration Agencies in the Province, and arrangements are made for directing emigrants to those points where employment can be most readily obtained. Several new lines of railway and other public works are in course of construction, or about being commenced, which will afford employment to an almost unlimited number of labourers.

Persons desiring fuller information concerning the Province of Ontario, are invited to apply personally, or by letter, to the Canadian Government Emigration Agents in Europe, viz.: WM. DIXON, 11 Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.; J. G. MOYLAN, Dublin; CHARLES FOY, Belfast; DAVID SHAW, Glasgow; and E. SIMAYS, Continental Agent at Antwerp.

Also to the Emigration Agents in Canada, viz.:

JOHN A. DONALDSON, Toronto; R. H. RAE, Hamilton; WM. J. WILLS, Ottawa; JAS. MACPHERSON, Kingston; L. STAFFORD, Quebec; J. J. DALEY, Montreal; E. OLAY, Halifax, Nova Scotia; ROBT. SLIVES, St. John, and J. G. LAYTON, Miramichi, New Brunswick.

From whom pamphlets, issued under the authority of the Government of Ontario, containing full particulars in relation to the character and resources of, and the cost of living, wages, &c., in the Province, can be obtained.

## JOHN CARLING,

DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION,  
Toronto, October, 1869.

Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works for the Province of Ontario.





## IMMIGRATION TO CANADA BY CALENDAR YEAR 1852-1964

1852.....	29,307	1881.....	47,991	1910.....	286,839	1939.....	16,994
1853.....	29,464	1882.....	112,458	1911.....	334,288	1940.....	11,324
1854.....	37,263	1883.....	133,624	1912.....	375,756	1941.....	9,329
1855.....	25,296	1884.....	103,824	1913.....	375,800	1942.....	7,576
1856.....	22,544	1885.....	79,169	1914.....	350,482	1943.....	8,504
1857.....	33,854	1886.....	69,152	1915.....	36,667	1944.....	12,801
1858.....	12,339	1887.....	84,526	1916.....	55,911	1945.....	22,722
1859.....	6,300	1888.....	88,766	1917.....	72,910	1946.....	71,719
1860.....	6,276	1889.....	91,600	1918.....	11,845	1947.....	6,117
1861.....	13,589	1890.....	75,067	1919.....	107,698	1948.....	135,114
1862.....	18,294	1891.....	82,165	1920.....	138,824	1949.....	95,217
1863.....	21,000	1892.....	30,996	1921.....	91,728	1950.....	73,912
1864.....	24,779	1893.....	29,633	1922.....	64,224	1951.....	134,391
1865.....	18,958	1894.....	29,633	1923.....	133,729	1952.....	164,498
1866.....	13,577	1895.....	20,829	1924.....	124,164	1953.....	168,868
1867.....	11,467	1896.....	18,790	1925.....	84,907	1954.....	154,227
1868.....	12,765	1897.....	16,835	1926.....	135,982	1955.....	109,946
1869.....	18,490	1898.....	21,716	1927.....	158,886	1956.....	164,857
1870.....	24,706	1899.....	31,900	1928.....	166,783	1957.....	282,164
1871.....	27,773	1900.....	44,243	1929.....	164,993	1958.....	124,851
1872.....	36,578	1901.....	44,681	1930.....	164,993	1959.....	106,928
1873.....	50,050	1902.....	35,747	1931.....	104,806	1960.....	104,111
1874.....	39,373	1903.....	139,102	1932.....	27,530	1961.....	74,689
1875.....	27,382	1904.....	136,950	1933.....	20,591	1962.....	74,586
1876.....	25,633	1905.....	131,265	1934.....	14,382	1963.....	93,151
1877.....	27,082	1906.....	141,465	1935.....	12,476	1964.....	112,606
1878.....	29,807	1907.....	211,653	1936.....	11,277		
1879.....	40,492	1908.....	272,109	1937.....	11,643		
1880.....	38,505	1909.....	143,326	1938.....	15,101		
			173,694		17,244		

Source: Department of Citizenship and Immigration and Immigration - Immigration Branch





## INTENDED OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF POST-WAR IMMIGRANTS, 1946-64

Occupational Groups Groupes d'occupations	1946- 1955	1956- 1961	1962	1963	1964	1946- 1964
<b>DESTINED TO LABOUR FORCE - TRAVAILLEURS</b>						
Managerial - Administration (2)	4,213	5,774	1,093	1,159	1,212	13,391
Professional - Professions	44,526	54,015	8,218	9,640	11,965	128,364
Clerical - Bureaux	46,788	43,617	4,898	6,186	7,931	114,420
Transportation - Transports	14,331	8,761	369	473	549	24,483
Communication - Communications (2)	1,001	2,773	120	179	219	4,292
Commercial - Commerce	25,257	16,884	1,090	1,381	1,916	46,488
Financial - Finance (2)	474	1,227	164	115	83	2,063
Service - Service (1)	69,447	67,935	5,853	6,099	6,420	155,754
Agricultural - Agriculture	138,195	36,036	1,923	2,398	2,234	180,786
Construction - Construction	52,516	41,583	2,667	3,852	4,799	105,417
Fishing, Trapping and Logging - Pêche, chasse et piégeage	12,928	1,877	78	66	73	15,022
Mining - Mines	10,029	4,171	100	130	114	14,544
Manufacturing and Mechanical - Fabrication et mécanique	148,095	93,952	7,018	10,563	12,677	272,305
Labourers - Manœuvres	58,743	61,745	3,145	3,559	5,737	132,929
Others - Autres	9,255	2,271	52	66	261	11,905
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>635,798</b>	<b>447,561</b>	<b>36,748</b>	<b>45,866</b>	<b>56,190</b>	<b>1,222,163</b>
<b>NOT DESTINED TO THE LABOUR FORCE - NON TRAVAILLEURS</b>						
Wives - Épouses	252,347	165,624	15,674	19,305	21,023	473,983
Children - Enfants	289,298	207,652	18,137	23,226	29,819	568,132
Others - Autres	44,876	33,753	4,027	4,754	5,574	92,984
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>586,521</b>	<b>407,029</b>	<b>37,838</b>	<b>47,285</b>	<b>56,416</b>	<b>1,135,099</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL TOTAL GÉNÉRAL</b>	<b>1,222,319</b>	<b>854,600</b>	<b>74,586</b>	<b>93,151</b>	<b>112,606</b>	<b>2,357,262</b>

(1) Includes domestic servants - Comprend les domestiques

(2) Available as a separate occupational group since 1953 only. - Indiqué comme groupe d'occupations depuis 1953 seulement.

Source: Department of Citizenship and Immigration - Immigration Branch



Table IV

## INTENDED EMIGRATION BY PORT OF ORIGIN, 1946-64

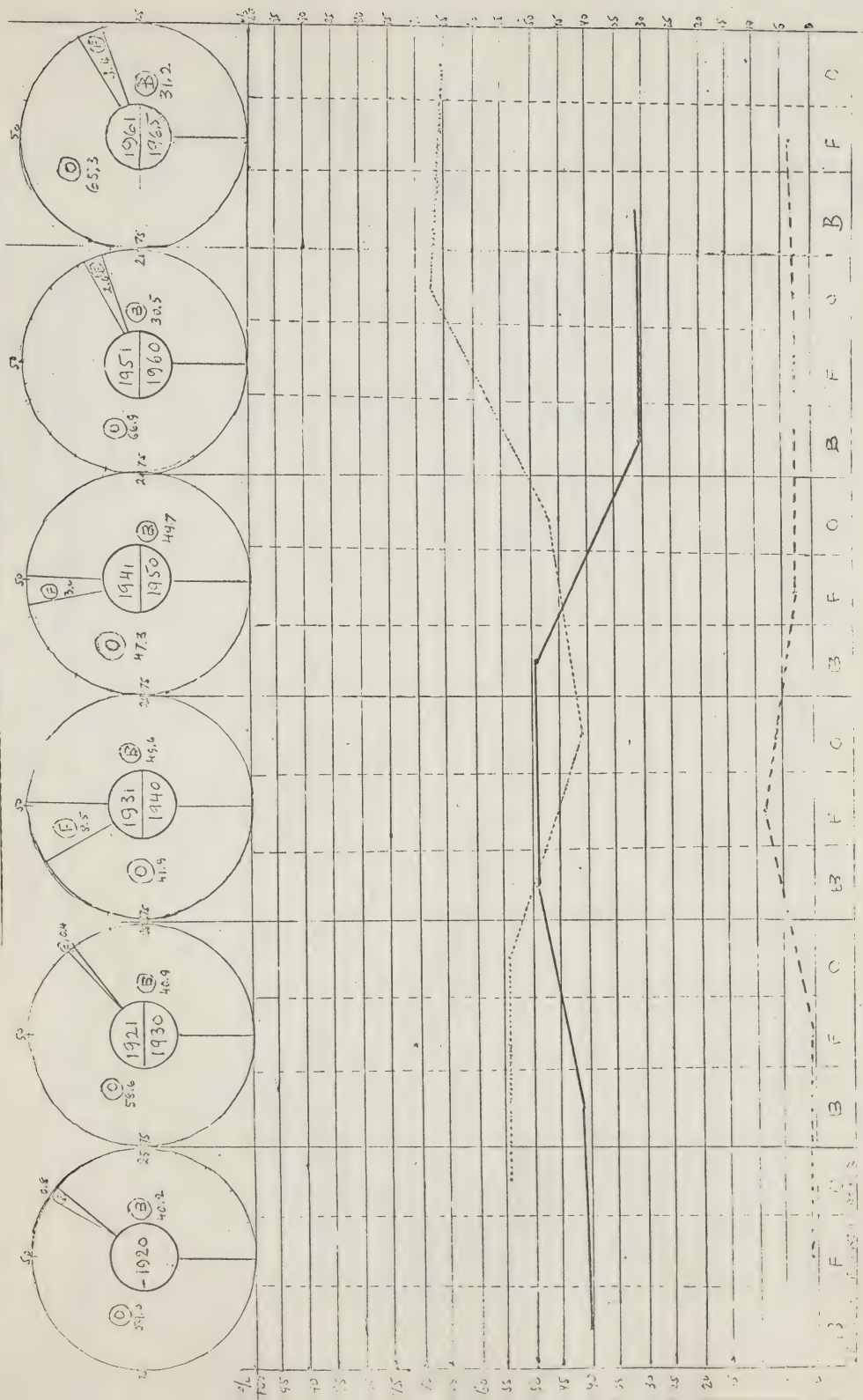
Province	1946-1955	1956-1961	1962	1963	1964	1946-1964
Newfoundland - Terre-Neuve	2,565	2,310	378	349	445	6,047
Prince Edward Island - Île-du-Prince-Édouard	2,490	567	77	78	79	3,291
Nova Scotia - Nouvelle-Écosse	23,495	9,412	989	1,198	1,189	36,283
New Brunswick - Nouveau-Brunswick	12,827	5,601	944	769	696	20,837
Quebec - Québec	240,432	180,422	19,132	23,264	25,973	489,223
Ontario - Ontario	636,033	448,597	37,210	49,216	61,468	1,232,524
Manitoba - Manitoba	62,343	32,616	2,410	2,792	3,006	103,167
Saskatchewan - Saskatchewan	36,881	14,459	1,163	1,438	1,795	55,736
Alberta - Alberta	95,343	58,714	4,745	4,731	5,521	169,054
British Columbia - Colombie Britannique	109,347	97,186	7,441	9,254	12,324	235,552
Yukon and N.W.T. - Yukon et Territoires du Nord-Ouest	563	833	97	62	110	1,665
Not Specified - Inconnue	**	3,883	**	**	**	3,883
TOTAL	1,222,319	854,600	74,586	93,151	112,606	2,357,262

Source: Department of Citizenship and Immigration - Immigration Branch



Table V

PERIODS OF IMMIGRATION BY ETHNIC ORIGIN IN CANADA



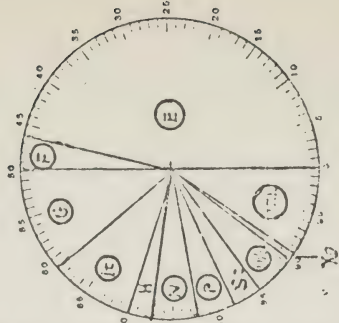




IMMIGRANT POPULATION - PERIODS OF IMMIGRATION

BY MOTHER TONGUE

CENSUS  
- 1961 -

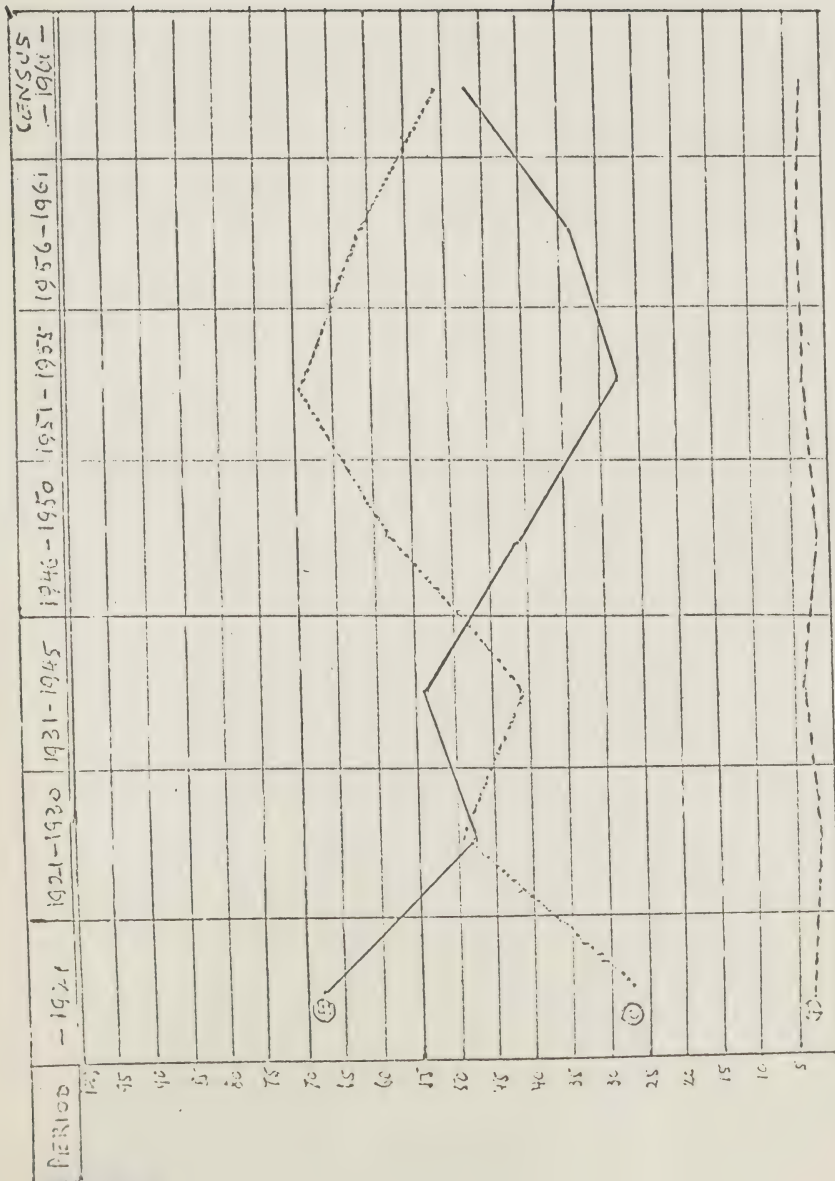


PERIOD	- 1921		1921-1930		1931-1945		1946-1950		1951-1955		1956-1961		CENSUS 1961	
	772,030	444,969	444,969	444,969	120,148	303,984	303,984	303,984	567,190	567,190	635,942	635,942	2,844,263	2,844,263
E	532,221 (68.9)	214,840 (48.3)	214,840	214,840	64,970 (54.1)	129,316 (42.5)	129,316	129,316	157,219 (27.7)	157,219	220,360 (34.7)	220,360	1,318,976 (46.4)	1,318,976
F	29,704 (3.8)	8,774 (2.0)	8,774	8,774	4,443 (4.1)	5,256 (1.7)	5,256	5,256	16,116 (2.8)	16,116	20,938 (3.3)	20,938	85,731 (3.0)	85,731
G	39,001 (5.1)	47,276 (10.6)	47,276	47,276	8,038 (6.7)	26,656 (8.8)	26,656	26,656	115,991 (20.5)	115,991	82,355 (13.0)	82,355	319,317 (11.2)	319,317
It.	15,139 (2.0)	10,163 (2.3)	10,163	10,163	3,472 (2.9)	16,875 (5.6)	16,875	16,875	91,679 (16.2)	91,679	120,475 (18.9)	120,475	257,803 (9.1)	257,803
Hung.	2,605 (0.3)	14,755 (3.3)	14,755	14,755	3,721 (3.1)	4,693 (1.5)	4,693	4,693	7,508 (1.3)	7,508	34,346 (5.4)	34,346	67,678 (2.4)	67,678
KETH.	3,161 (0.4)	5,617 (1.3)	5,617	5,617	1,427 (1.2)	22,448 (7.4)	22,448	22,448	67,557 (11.9)	67,557	33,478 (5.3)	33,478	133,688 (4.7)	133,688
P.G.	14,564 (1.9)	25,263 (5.7)	25,263	25,263	6,387 (5.3)	29,084 (9.6)	29,084	29,084	19,707 (3.5)	19,707	13,568 (2.1)	13,568	108,573 (3.8)	108,573
Sc.	30,425 (3.9)	22,597 (5.1)	22,597	22,597	1,657 (1.4)	3,176 (1.0)	3,176	3,176	10,763 (1.9)	10,763	14,731 (2.3)	14,731	83,349 (2.9)	83,349
UKR.	43,101 (5.6)	35,386 (8.0)	35,386	35,386	6,976 (5.8)	20,021 (6.6)	20,021	20,021	12,614 (2.2)	12,614	4,500 (0.7)	4,500	122,598 (4.3)	122,598
YD.	20,535 (2.7)	13,813 (3.1)	13,813	13,813	2,869 (2.4)	7,379 (2.4)	7,379	7,379	5,644 (1.0)	5,644	4,710 (0.7)	4,710	54,950 (1.9)	54,950
OTHER	41,574 (5.4)	46,435 (10.4)	46,435	46,435	15,688 (13.1)	39,080 (12.9)	39,080	39,080	62,392 (11.0)	62,392	86,431 (13.6)	86,431	291,600 (10.3)	291,600

SOURCE: DBS/92-562 - 1.3 - 11; TABULATIONS 124/125. (13-4-1964)



IMMIGRANT POPULATION - PERIODS OF IMMIGRATION BY MOTHER TONGUE  
IN CANADA



Legend  
 — English  
 - - - French  
 . . . . . Total















